



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines


Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.


About Google Book Search

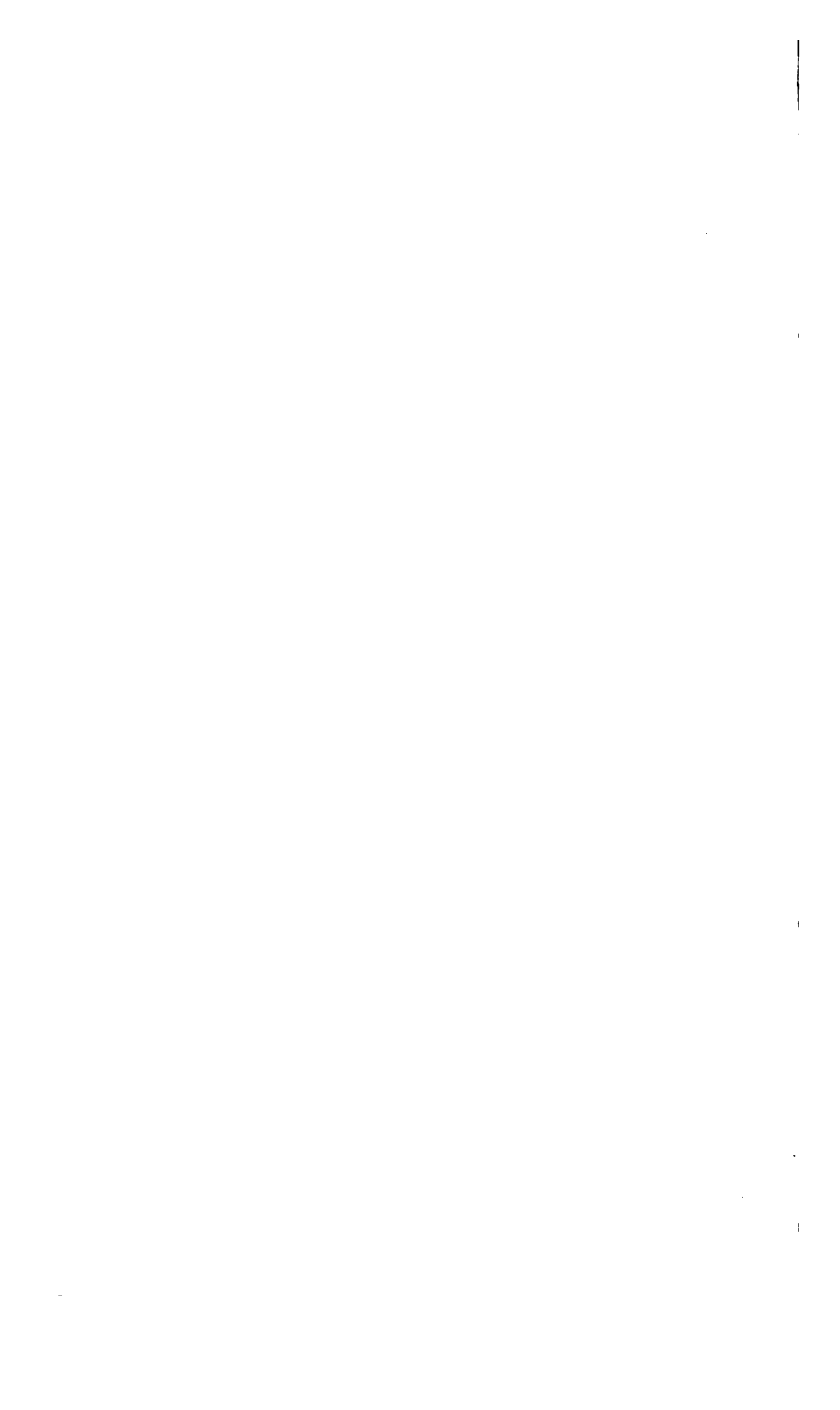
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



39.

823.





LIVES

OF

SCOTISH WRITERS.



LIVES
OF
SCOTISH WRITERS.

BY
DAVID IRVING, LL. D.

VOL. I.



EDINBURGH :
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, NORTH BRIDGE,
BOOKSELLERS TO HER MAJESTY.

MDCCCXXXIX.

823.

Κλασθὲν πέτευρον, νερτέρων κειμήλιον.

LYCOPHRON.

OF the thirty-nine lives contained in these volumes, twenty-seven have already appeared in the seventh edition of the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*. The remaining twelve, those of Wilson, Winzet, Blackwood, W. Barclay, Balfour, Liddell, Duncan, Jack, Urquhart, Morison, Gregory, and Keill, are here printed for the first time. All the articles now republished have been carefully revised, and some of them have been much enlarged. It is almost superfluous to mention, that the present work has no claim to be considered as a general collection of the literary biography of Scotland.

EDINBURGH,
6 *February* 1839.

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

HECTOR BOYCE, D. D.	
Principal of King's College, Aberdeen,	1
JOHN BELLENDEN, D. D.	
Archdeacon of Moray,	12
FLORENCE WILSON,	
Master of Carpentras School,	23
JOHN KNOX,	35
GEORGE BUCHANAN,	67
NINIAN WINZET, D. D.	
Abbot of St. James's, Ratisbon,	98
JOHN LESLEY, LL. D.	
Bishop of Ross,	122
SIR THOMAS CRAIG,	147
ADAM BLACKWOOD,	
Counsellor of the Parliament of Poitiers,	161
ANDREW MELVILLE,	
Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews,	170
WILLIAM BARCLAY, LL. D.	
Professor of Law in the University of Angers,	210
ROBERT BALFOUR,	
Principal of Guienne College, Bordeaux,	234
WILLIAM BELLENDEN,	
Master of Requests,	247
JAMES CRICHTON,	258
DUNCAN LIDDELL, M. D.	
Professor of Physic in the University of Helmstädt,	275
ROBERT JOHNSTONE, LL. D.	291
MARK DUNCAN, M. D.	
Principal of the University of Saumur,	295

WALTER DONALDSON, LL. D.	
Principal of the University of Sedan,	303
DAVID CALDERWOOD,	
Minister of Pencaitland,	306
GILBERT JACK, M. D.	
Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leyden,	323
JOHN CAMERON,	
Professor of Divinity in the University of Saumur,	333
THOMAS DEMPSTER, LL. D.	
Professor of Humanity in the University of Bologna,	347
JOHN BARCLAY,	371

ERRATUM.

P. 78, l. 18, *for Canadian read Candian.*

LIVES

OF

SCOTISH WRITERS.

HECTOR BOYCE.

THE first Scottish author who wrote in the Latin language with any considerable degree of elegance was Hector Boyce, born at Dundee about the year 1465. He was the descendant of a family which, for several generations, had possessed the barony of Panbride or Balbride. The orthography of his surname is extremely fluctuating ; it is to be found under the various modifications of Boece, Boeth, Boeis, Boys, Boyse, Boyes, Boyis, Boiss, and Boyce. The first of these, I strongly suspect, was never a name belonging to any living man in Scotland ; it was formed by the French from the name of the latest Roman classic, and on that account appears to have been adopted by Bellenden in his translation of the history. The real Scottish name is a monosyllable ; and I adhere to the orthography of Boyce, as being most common in our own time.

He received the first rudiments of learning at Dundee, and completed his course of study in the university of Paris, where he took the degree of B. D. He was appointed a

professor of philosophy in the College of Montaigne ; and in this seminary he became intimately acquainted with Erasmus, who in two epistles has testified his esteem for Boyce's character.¹ In his academical station he had already distinguished himself by his talents and attainments, when King's College was founded at Aberdeen by the munificence of William Elphinstone, bishop of the diocese. The papal bull for the erection of a university had been obtained in the year 1494, but the buildings were not sufficiently advanced, nor did the lectures commence, till about the year 1500. It was not without some degree of hesitation that he consented to quit the lettered society of Paris, and to become principal of this new college ; but having at length accepted the conditions, he proceeded to Aberdeen, and experienced a kind reception from the canons of the cathedral, several of whom he has commemorated as men of learning. It was a part of his duty as principal to read lectures on divinity. The sub-principal was his friend William Hay, a native of the same county, who had been his fellow-student at Dundee and at Paris, and who at length succeeded him as head of the college.² The principal's brother, Arthur Boyce, doctor of the canon and licentiate of the civil law, was appointed professor of the canon law, and afterwards became a judge of the court of session.³ The common

¹ *Erasmi Opera*, tom. i. tom. iii. c. 1784. edit. Clerici. The first of these epistles introduces a catalogue of his own writings. Here his learned correspondent is named Hector Boetius, nor has Dr. Jortin subjoined his more common appellation. (*Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 725.)

² In *Orem's Description* of King's College, Aberdeen, p. 154-7, he is erroneously called William Gray.

³ Boyce has mentioned his brother in very favourable terms : " *Arthurus Boetius, mihi germanus, in pontificio jure doctor, in civico (ut dicunt) licentiat, vir multae doctrinae, plus literarum indies consecuturus, quod studium ei permanet animo indefesso, nobiscum jura pie et scite proficitur. Est in eo vis et gravitas eloquendi, a vulgari genere plurimum abhorrens.*" (*Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, p. 63. edit. Edinb. 1825, 4to.)

branches of science and literature were taught with zeal and success; and the prosperity of the institution was greatly promoted by the talents and by the reputation of Boyce.

The emoluments of his office were not such as appear very dazzling to modern eyes. "Boethius, as president of the university," says Dr. Johnson, "enjoyed a revenue of forty Scottish marks, about two pounds four shillings and sixpence of sterling money. In the present age of trade and taxes, it is difficult even for the imagination so to raise the value of money, or so to diminish the demands of life, as to suppose four and forty shillings a-year an honourable stipend; yet it was probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of Boethius. The wealth of England was undoubtedly to that of Scotland more than five to one, and it is known that Henry the Eighth, among whose faults avarice was never reckoned, granted to Roger Ascham, as a reward of his learning, a pension of ten pounds a year."¹ But it is necessary to recollect that this was not the only preferment which Boyce enjoyed: he was not only principal of King's College, but was likewise a canon of Aberdeen, and rector of Tyrie in the same county. Under the date of July 14, 1527, we find "a grant to Maister Hector" of an annual pension of fifty pounds, to be paid by the sheriff of Aberdeen out of the king's casualties. And on the 26th of July 1529 was issued "a precept for a lettre to Mr. Hector Boys, professor of theology, of a pension of L.50 Scots yearly, until the king promote him to a benefice of 100 marks Scots of yearly value; the said pension to be paid him by the customers of Aberdeen." In 1533 and 1534, one-half of his pension was however paid by the king's treasurer, and the other half by the comptroller; and as no payment subsequent to that of Whitsuntide 1534 has been traced in the treasurer's accompts, he is

¹ Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 29. Lond. 1775, 8vo.

supposed to have obtained his benefice soon after that period.¹

His earliest publication, the lives of the bishops of Aberdeen, appeared under the following title: "*Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium per Hectorem Boetium Vitae.*" Impressa sunt haec prelo Ascensiano, ad Idus Maias anno Salutis MDXXII. 4to. This little volume, which is of great rarity, was lately reprinted for the members of the Bannatyne Club: "*Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, iterum in lucem editae.*" Edinb. 1825, 4to. Of the bishops of this diocese the seat was originally at Murthlack, in the county of Banff, but it was afterwards transferred to Aberdeen. His notices of the early prelates are necessarily brief and unsatisfactory, and the most interesting portion of the book is that which relates to his liberal patron, Bishop Elphinstone; of whose private history and public services he has given a circumstantial detail, which occupies nearly one-third of the volume. Here we likewise find an account of the foundation and constitution of the university, together with some notices of its earliest members.

His more famous work, the history of Scotland, was published after an interval of five years: "*Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari: praemissa epistola nuncupatoria, tabellisque amplissimis, et non poenitenda Isagoge, quae ab hujus tergo explicabuntur diffusius. Quae omnia impressa quidem sunt Iodoci Badii Ascensii typis et opera, impensis autem nobilis et praedocti viri Hectoris Boethii Deidonani, a quo sunt et condita et edita.*" Fol. The title and colophon have no date, but the commendatory epistle by Alexander Lyon, precentor of the cathedral of Elgin, bears the fifteenth of March 1527. This edition contains seventeen books. Another edition, containing the eighteenth book

¹ Maitland's Biographical Introduction to Bellenden, p. xxiii.

and a fragment of the nineteenth, was published by Ferrerius, who has added an appendix of thirty-five pages.¹ Paris. 1574, fol. Though published at Paris, the latter edition appears from the colophon to have been printed at Lausanne.

The composition of Boyce's history displays much talent ; and if the style does not always reach the standard of ancient purity, it displays a certain vein of elegance, which generally renders it attractive. The author's love of his native country, and his anxiety to emblazon the heroic deeds of his countrymen, are conspicuous in every part of the work ; nor must we leave unnoticed those aspirations after political freedom, by which he was honourably distinguished at a period when the human mind was so generally chained to the earth by the most slavish maxims of submission. It may be recorded as commendation, instead of reproach, that his principles of polity have been represented as no better than those of Buchanan. Boyce's imagination was how-

¹ Joannes Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, resided for several years in Scotland under the patronage of Robert Reid, abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards bishop of Orkney. In the dedication of one of his works to this prelate, he mentions Hector and Arthur Boyce, together with several other scholars of Aberdeen : " Aberdoniis rector a Kynkell, homo studiosus et politicus, me semper complexus est humanissime. Idem fecit Hector ille Boethius, historiarum vestrarum scriptor nunquam satis laudatus ; ut interim omittam Arthurum Boethii fratrem germanum, utriusque juris peritissimum, Gulielmum Haye, theologum syncerum, ac Jacobum Vane, cum doctore medico peritissimo Roberto Gray. Adde his Joannem Vaus, virum cum literis tum moribus ornatissimum, et de juventute Scotica bene meritum." (*Auditum Visu præstare, contra vulgatum Aristotelis Placitum, Academica Johannis Ferrerii Pedemontani Dissertatio.* Paris. 1539, 4to.) With respect to his literary character, see Lord Hailes's *Examination of some of the Arguments for the high Antiquity of Regiam Majestatem*, p. 20. Edinb. 1769, 4to. Among various other works, he wrote a history of the abbots of Kinloss, which is printed, though not without abbreviation, in Martene and Durand's *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio*, tom. vi.

ever stronger than his judgment : of the extent of the historian's credulity, his narrative exhibits many unequivocal proofs ; and if this circumstance admits of a sufficient excuse from the common propensity of the age in which he lived, his work presents strong indications of another fault, for which it is not so easy to find an apology. According to Bishop Lloyd, he put Fordun's tales "into the form of an history, and pieced them out with a very good invention, that part in which he chiefly excelled."¹ Through the good offices of the earl of Argyle and his brother the treasurer, he professes to have obtained from the monastery of Icolmkill certain original historians of Scotland, and among the rest Veremundus and Campbell, of whose writings not a single vestige is now to be found. In his dedication to the king, he is pleased to state that Veremundus, a Spaniard by birth, was archdeacon of St. Andrews, and that he wrote in Latin a history of Scotland from the origin of the nation to the reign of Malcolm the Third, to whom he inscribed his work. According to Bishop Stillingfleet, whose opinion has been adopted by many other writers, these historians never existed except in Boyce's fertile imagination.² From the charge of downright fabrication he has very recently been vindicated by Mr Maitland ; but notwithstanding the ingenuity of the defence, we find it extremely difficult to divest ourselves of a strong impression that the historian's account of his original materials, if not destitute of truth, is at least destitute of verisimilitude. His propensity to the marvellous³ was at an early period exposed in the following te-

¹ Lloyd's Historical Account of Church Government in Great Britain and Ireland, pref.

² Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, p. 255.

³ One of the letters of Joseph Scaliger contains the subsequent passage relative to Boyce's story of the barnacles or soland geese : " Nam de conchis anatis fabula prorsus est. Nullae enim anates ex conchis producuntur, sed ex putredine vetustorum navigiorum, quibus conchae adhaerent, anates quasdam nasci certum est. Etiam

trastich of Leland, which Dempster has erroneously ascribed to Humphrey Lhuyd :¹

Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia scripsit
Si vis ut numerem, lector amice, tibi,
Me jubeas etiam fluctus numerare marinos,
Et liquidi stellas connumerare poli.²

Lhuyd, who attacked him in different works, spoke of his fabrications without management or scruple ;³ nor did he experience much better treatment from Stanihurst, an Irish writer of considerable reputation.⁴ Of his merits as

arbores anatiferas esse in ultima Scotia, abi nullae prorsus arbores sunt, hactenus mentita est scriptorum vernilitas." (Scaligeri Epistolae, p. 729. Lugd. Bat. 1627, 8vo.) : See likewise Nicolai Nancelii *Analogia Microcosmi ad Macrocosmon*, c. 835. Lutetiae Paris. 1611, fol. It is just as easy to believe that birds grow upon trees as that they are produced from rotten wood ; so that the philosophy of Scaliger seems to have conducted him but a little way beyond the region of absolute credulity. A German physician published a singular work under the following title : "Tractatus de Volucris Arborea, absque Patre et Matre, in Insulis Orcadum, forma Anserculorum proveniente, seu de Ortu miraculoso potius quam naturali Vegetabilium, Animalium, Hominum, et Supernaturalium quorundam ; quo causae illius et horum inquiruntur et demonstrantur. Authore Michaelae Maiero, Comite Imperialis Consistorii," &c. Francofurti, 1619, 8vo. Among other authorities, he quotes Boyce.

¹ Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 98. Bonnae, 1627, 4to.

² Lelandi de Rebus Britannicis *Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 126.

³ "Ut hominem impurissimum suis depingam coloribus," says Lhuyd, "fucusque et praestigia quibus omnium oculos perstringere conatur, aperiantur, aliquas ejus vanissimas nugas, et omnibus cordatis pro mendaciis cognitae, leviter attingamus." (Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum, f. 32, a. Col. Agrip. 1572, 8vo.) In another work, *De Mona Druidum Insula*, Epistola, he speaks in a similar strain : "Ut Hectoris Boethii innumera mendacia hinc facilius dignoscantur." See likewise Joannis Twini *Bolingdunensis, Angli, de Rebus Albioniciis, Britannicis atque Anglicis, Commentariorum libri duo*, ad Thomam Twinum filium, p. 89. Lond. 1590, 8vo.

⁴ Stanihursti de Rebus in Hibernia gestis libri quattuor, p. 18. Antverpiae, 1584, 4to.

an historian, a very unfavourable estimate has more recently been formed by Lord Hailes and Mr Pinkerton. But, in the opinion of Mr Wallace, a learned lawyer, his "elegant style and correct composition, not to add beautiful genius and fine fancy, are conclusive proofs that his understanding could not be inaccurate."¹ And, as Mr Maitland has remarked, "in forming a final estimate of the literary character of Boece, we must bear in mind, that when scholar-craft, in this country at least, was rare, he was a scholar, and contributed, by reviving ancient learning, to dispel the gloom of the middle ages; and that, while the history of his country existed only in the rude page of the chroniclers who preceded him, or in the fading records of oral tradition, he embodied it in narrative so interesting, and language so beautiful, as to be worthy of a more refined age."²

Boyce's history of Scotland was translated into the Scottish language by John Bellenden; and while the learned archdeacon was engaged in translating the work into prose, another individual was engaged in the more formidable task of translating it into verse. A copy of this metrical version, containing about 70,000 lines, is preserved in the public library of the university of Cambridge: a leaf seems to be wanting at the beginning, and the manuscript has suffered some other mutilations. The name of the versifier does not appear, nor has it been ascertained from any other document; but we learn from the prologue, that his labours, like those of Bellenden, were intended for the benefit of the young monarch. From the concluding lines, it is ascertained that he began his task in April 1531 and concluded it in September 1535. His verses are not distinguished by any considerable degree of energy or elegance, and the writer is chiefly to be commended for his perseverance. The prologue, which is unfortunately mutilated,

¹ Wallace's *Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages*, p. 451. edit. Edinb. 1785, 8vo.

² Maitland's *Biographical Introduction to Bellenden*, p. xxxv.

contains an account of his motives for engaging in this laborious undertaking: it is conducted in the form of a dialogue between the translator and a certain lady, who is probably some allegorical personage. The following is perhaps the most curious passage which it contains:

Bot yit, scho said, I dreid in my intent
 That to his grace it be ovir eloquent;
 For quhy the termis poleist ar perfyte
 Of eloquence, in rycht plesand indyte,
 In Latene toung sententiouslie and schort,
 Quhilk for to heir is plesand and confort.
 Madame, I said, quha wes it drew that storie?
 Ane man, scho said, of sic hie laud and glorie,
 In Albione sen stories wes begun,
 Wes nevir nane sic among our poetis fun.
 Madame, I said, quhat is that mannis name?
 Ane Hector Boyis, said scho, of nobill fame,
 Maister in art, doctor in theologie,
 In all science ane profound clerk is he.
 Madame, I said, now tell me or ye ga,
 Quhat is the caus that ye commend it sua.
 That sall I do, quoth scho, and yow wald heir.
 Our old storeis befor thir mony yeir,
 Tha war distroyit all with Inglismen
 In Wallace weir, as it is eith to ken:
 Syne efterwart quhen that tha wreit the storie,
 Ald eldaris deidis to put into memorie,
 Tha maid tha bukis, thair tractatis, and thair tabillis,
 Part be ges, and part be fenzeit fabillis,
 Part tha fand in ald bladis of bukis,
 Part in lous quairis, liand wer in nukis:
 Tha tuke sic cuir sic thingis to considder,
 Syne in ane volume pat thame altogidder,
 Without ordour, fassoun, or effect;
 Mikill wantit, and all the lave suspect.
 Madame, said I, now gar me vnderstand
 Into quhat place that he tha stories fand.
 That sall I do, than said scho, with gud will.
 Intill ane place callit Ecolumkill;

Ane abbai sumtyme of authoritie,
 In Iona yle, within the occident se,
 Quhilk oft syis had of kingis corps the cuir;
 Lang of the ald thair wes thair sepultuir:
 And thair wes keipit thair storeis and bukis,
 As in this libell yow sall se quhen yow luikis:
 And in that place thair wes thir stories fand,
 Sum in lows quairis, and uther sum weill band,
 As Beid, Turgot, and Weremund alsua,
 Corneill Campbell, and munny uther ma,
 All tell and fynd ane fassoun and effect,¹
 In ornat spech, and nothing to suspect.
 And for this caus I haif socht to ye heir:
 Hartlie as now thairof, I ye requair,
 Translait this libell in our mother tounge,
 And preis ye nocht my purpois to impugn.
 The kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfyte
 In Latyn tounge, and namelie in sic dyte;
 It wil be tedious, that dar I tak on hand,
 To reid the thing he can not vnderstand:
 War it translaid in our vulgar tounge,
 Out throw that realme the rumor [sould be rounge.]

In the year 1528, soon after the publication of his history, Boyce took the degree of D. D. at Aberdeen; and on this occasion the magistrates voted him a present of a tun of wine when the new wines should arrive, or, according to his option, the sum of twenty pounds to purchase a new bonnet.² He appears to have survived till the year 1536; for on the

¹ This line, which is scarcely intelligible, ought perhaps to have stood thus:

All hail and fyne in fassoun and effect.

² Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 367. *Aberd.* 1818, 2 vols. 4to.—An original painting of Boyce is preserved in King's College; and an engraving of it may be found in Mr. Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of eminent Scotsmen*. Glasgow, 1835, 4 vols. 8vo. A facsimile of his handwriting occurs in the preface to Hearne's edition of Fordun, p. ccvi. It is taken from a MS. of the *Scotichronicon*, which he presented to the library of his college, and which appears to have been so unfaithfully kept that it came into the possession of Dr. Gale, the learned dean of York.

22d of November in that year, the king presented John Garden to the rectory of Tyrie, vacant by the death of " Mr. Hector Boiss." He died at Aberdeen, and, according to the most probable conjecture, he had then attained or at least approached the age of seventy.

JOHN BELLENDEN.

THE archdeacon of Moray occupies a conspicuous place in the literary annals of Scotland, but his personal history is still involved in some degree of obscurity. It is evident that several writers have confounded him with Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul. Their names are indeed the same, but this is the only circumstance to support their identity; and the judge appears to have survived the archdeacon for so long a period as twenty-seven years. Dr Bellenden was probably educated in the university of St Andrews: a student of the same name, and described as belonging to the Lothian nation, was matriculated in 1508;¹ and this date agrees with the known chronology of his life. As Bale refers his birth to the eastern part of the kingdom, he may have been born in the county of Haddington or Berwick.

His education is represented as uncommonly liberal; and as he took the degree of D. D. in the university of Paris, his course of academical study must have been very complete.² Dr Campbell has remarked that his phraseology occasionally savours of a French education:³ it must however be recollected, that the poets of this age were too generally dis-

¹ Maitland's Biographical Introduction, p. xxxvi.

² "Interea Musarum memoriae foeliciter litabat Joannes Balantyn, archidiaconus Moraviensis, accuratissima sedulitate in literis a puero usque educatus." (Gray, Oratio de illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus, p. xxx.)

³ Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 572, 2d edit.

posed to adopt terms of a French as well as Latin origin ; and that the practice cannot be considered as peculiar to those who had been educated in France. Sir David Lindsay, in a poem supposed to have been written in the year 1530, mentions him in the following terms :

Bot now of late is starte up haistelie
 Ane cunning clark quhill wryth craftelie,
 Ane plant of poetis callit Ballendyne,
 Quhose ornat warkis my wit can nocht defyne :
 Get he into the courte auctoritie,
 He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie.¹

The literary merit of Bellenden does not seem to have been disregarded by the court ; but he experienced the precarious fortune which so frequently attends courtiers. For this information we are partly indebted to his poem entitled the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* :

And fyrst occurrit to my remembring,
 How that I wes in seruice with the kyng,
 Put to his grace in zeris tenderest,
 Clerk of his comptis, thought I wes inding,
 With hart and hand, and euery othir thing
 That mycht hym pleis in ony maner best,
 Quhill hie inuy me from his seruice kest,
 Be thaym that had the court in gouerning,
 As bird but plumes heryit of the nest.

In the epistle subjoined to his translation of Boyce's history, he likewise states that he had been in the service of the king from his majesty's early infancy. It has been conjectured that he was employed in superintending the young monarch's education : but he makes no allusion to such an appointment, of which it would have been very natural to remind the king, if they had ever stood in the relation of tutor and pupil ; and he very clearly informs us that his place in the royal household was that of clerk of accompts. James's preceptor was Gavin Dunbar, afterwards promoted

¹ Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 287.

to the archbishopric of Glasgow. Being dismissed from the king's service, as he states in the verses last quoted, Bellenden is supposed to have entered into that of Archibald earl of Angus, because a person of the same name was the earl's secretary in the year 1528. In the course of that year, Angus and some of his relations were accused of treason: John Ballentyne, who is described as his secretary, presented himself at the bar of the parliament on the 4th of September, and delivered a written protest in the name of the earl of Angus, his brother George Douglas, and his uncle Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, stating the reasons why they ought not to be compelled to answer to the charge of treason which had been preferred against them; and in the afternoon of the same day, the secretary again made his appearance, probably because they found such a protest altogether unavailing, and explained the conditions on which the earl was willing to surrender to his trial.¹ But in a transaction of this nature we should expect to find him employing a lawyer rather than a clergyman; and accordingly we are informed by Hume that the individual who thus appeared for the Douglasses was "Sir John Ballandine, who was then one of their dependers, and afterward justice clerk."² A descendant of this lawyer was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Bellenden.³

Whatever may have been Bellenden's employment at this period, it is certain that he was soon afterwards an attendant at court; and that at the request of the king he undertook a translation of the Roman history of Livy, and the Scottish history of Boyce.⁴ In this formidable task he ap-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 322-4.

² Hume's History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 258. Edinb. 1644, fol.

³ Wood's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 211.

⁴ It is not to be supposed that the king was able to read Latin authors with much facility. Lindsay, vol. i. p. 259, mentions that he was taken from school at the age of twelve; and the metrical para-

pears to have been engaged in 1530 and the three ensuing years. The treasurer's accounts contain various entries respecting the remuneration of his labours: the sum total which he is there stated to have received amounts to L.114; namely, L.78 for the translation of Boyce, and L.36 for that of Livy. But this was not the only reward which he obtained. The archdeaconry of Moray had become vacant during the vacancy of the see; and two clergymen, Duncan and Harvey, having solicited the pope in favour of James Douglas, were convicted of treason, and their property escheated to the crown. The annual emoluments arising from the pensions and benefices of John Duncan, who was parson of Glasgow, and from all the property belonging to Alexander Harvey for the two successive years 1536 and 1537, were bestowed upon Bellenden. For the first grant he paid a composition of 350 marks, and for the second, of

phrast of Boyce's history has more particularly described the state of his knowledge:

The kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfyte

- In Latyn toung.

We cannot however suppose that the king was entirely ignorant of the Latin language. It may perhaps be considered as a proof of his knowledge, that he urged Buchanan to write against the Franciscan friars, and to render his satire more poignant. "*Igitur acrius in eos jussus scribere, eam silvam, quae nunc sub titulo Franciscani est edita, inchoatam regi tradidit.*" (*Buchanani Vita*, p. 3.) Sir David Lindsay, in a poem composed about this period, exhorts James to study the chronicles of Scotland; and it might possibly be his intention to refer his grace to Bellenden's translation. (*Works*, vol. i. p. 302.)

The cronikillis to knaw I the exhort,

Quhilk may be mirrour to thy majestie;

• Thare sall thou find baith gude and evill report,

Of everilk prince efter his qualitie:

Thocht thay be deid, thair deidis sall nocht dee;

Traist weill thow salt be stylit in that storie

As thow deservis, put in memorie.

L.300.¹ It must have been upon the present occasion that he was promoted to the archdeaconry, which had lapsed to the crown in consequence of the vacancy in the bishopric. It was perhaps about the same period that he was appointed a canon of Ross; and this appears to have been the full extent of his preferment in the church, while many worthless and illiterate men were enjoying its highest dignities and emoluments.

His translation of Hector Boyce's history of Scotland is said to have been printed in the year 1536.² Neither the title-page nor the colophon exhibits the year of the impression; so that the date here assigned, if it is not merely conjectural, must have been ascertained from some other document. The book was printed by Thomas Davidson, who styles himself printer to the king.³ On the 26th of July 1533, a sum of money was paid to Bellenden "for ane Cronikle gevin to the kingis grace," but this must have been in manuscript. The printed book describes the translator as archdeacon of Moray and canon of Ross: the bishopric did not become vacant till the year 1534,⁴ and, as we have already seen, the archdeaconry was vacated at a later period. Under the date of April 1538, when he obtained a grant of the two clergymen's emoluments for the preceding year, he was not described as a dignitary. It has likewise been stated that the work was reprinted in 1541,⁵ but such copies

¹ Maitland's Biographical Introduction, p. xl.

² Mackenzie's Lives, vol. ii. p. 596.

³ Heir beginnis the Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland. Fol.—It was "imprentit in Edinburgh be me Thomas Daidson, prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace." On the reverse of the title Davidson has inserted an address, consisting of five stanzas, and entitled "The Excusation of the Prentar." In the library of the university of Edinburgh, and in that of the duke of Hamilton, there are splendid copies of this work printed on vellum.

⁴ Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 150.

⁵ Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1474.

as I have had an opportunity of inspecting seem all to belong to the same edition.

It was Bellenden's intention to execute a complete version of Livy, but he did not advance beyond the first five books, nor was his translation printed till the year 1822. From a manuscript in the Advocates Library, it was then published by Mr Maitland, to whom we are likewise indebted for a new edition of his other translation, as well as for some curious and interesting notices of Boyce and Bellenden.¹

The archdeacon is reported to have continued the history of Scotland for one hundred years subsequent to the period at which the printed narrative closes;² and a passage in his Proheme of the History seems to imply that he had at least formed such a project:

Bring nobyll dedis of mony zeris gone
 Als fresche and recent to our memorie
 As thay war bot in to our dayis done,
 That nobyll men may haue baith laud and glorie
 For thair excellent brut of victorie.
 And zit becaus my tyme hes bene so schort,
 I thynk, quhen I haue oportunitie,
 To ring thair bell in to ane othir sort.³

¹ The History and Chronicles of Scotland: written in Latin by Hector Boece, and translated by John Bellenden, archdean of Moray, and canon of Ross. Edinb. 1821, 2 vols. 4to. The first five books of the Roman History: translated from the Latin of Titus Livius by John Bellenden, &c. Edinb. 1822, 4to. The two works are uniformly and elegantly printed.

² Balei Scriptores Britanniae, cent. xiv. p. 223.

³ This metaphor, which is not peculiarly elegant, seems to have been a favourite with the Scottish poets, and particularly with the bishop of Dunkeld.

Ane nothir wyse that bell sall now be roun
 Than euer was to fore herd in our toun.

DOUGLAS's Virgil, p. 38.

For quhy the bell of rethorick bene roun
 Be Chawcer, Gower, and Lidgate laureat.

LINDSAY's Works, vol. i. p. 284.

These two works exhibit the most ample specimen of ancient Scottish prose that has descended to our times, and are distinguished above most others by their fluency and neatness of style. Bellenden frequently surprises a modern reader by the happy vivacity of his expressions; nor can we peruse these translations without being convinced that his learning and talents had qualified him for original composition. In his version of the Scottish historian, he does not adhere very scrupulously to his author; he has assumed the liberty of adding, as well as of retrenching, and may therefore be considered as having exceeded the proper limits of a translation. He has at all events produced a very curious, and, to those who have a competent knowledge of the language, a very entertaining work.

To his version of Boyce's history he has subjoined an epistle, addressed to James the Fifth, and written in a strain of manly freedom: of the distinction between a king and a tyrant, and of the miseries to which wicked princes have generally been exposed, he speaks in bold and unequivocal terms, which may excite some degree of surprise, but which cannot fail of exciting a high degree of respect for his character.¹ Bellenden was then a dignitary of the church, and might still hope for preferment; and in all ages ambitious churchmen have been sufficiently disposed to encourage sovereigns in their most flagrant attempts to encroach on the liberties of their subjects; but the conduct of the worthy archdeacon, and of some other beneficed clergymen of the ancient Scottish church, must completely exempt them from this censure. John Mair, who was provost of St. Salvator's College, and treasurer of the chapel royal, and Hector Boyce, who was principal of King's College, canon

¹ In the Proheme of the History, Bellenden takes occasion to suggest that it is impossible for a king to possess at once the hearts and the goods of his barons:

Schaw mony reasonis how na king micht haif
His baronis hartis and thair geir atanis.

of Aberdeen, and rector of Tyrie, have each written the history of their native country, and have each evinced a laudable zeal in vindicating the unalienable rights of the people. If such sentiments were cherished by some of the catholic clergy, it is not surprising that they should animate the breast of Buchanan, who had never been accustomed to pace in the trammels of the church, and who had more completely imbibed the spirit of classical antiquity.

Whatever might be the liberality of his political sentiments, Bellenden seems to have been unprepared for any change in the national religion.¹ Stern and unbending virtue is not on all occasions to be expected among mankind : truths which threaten the extinction of dignity and emolument cannot so easily be embraced ; nor must we forget the invincible force of prejudices, admitted in early youth, and cherished through a lengthened life. The archdeacon of Moray is represented as a strenuous opponent of the reformation, which he did not live to see completed.² He is said to have visited Rome, and there to have terminated his career in 1550.³ The particular object of his journey

¹ It however appears from the following stanza of the same Proheme, that he was not insensible to the profligate lives of the clergy :

Schaw how of kirkis the superflew rent
Is ennyme to good religion,
And makis preistis more sleuthfull than fervent
In pietuus werkis and deuotion,
And not allanerly perdition
Of commoun weill be bullis sumptuus,
Bot to euyll prelatiis gret occasion
To rage in lust and life maist vicius.

² " *Jacobus Balandenus, Moraviensis ecclesiae archidiaconus, in celebri Sorbonae schola magistri laurea donatus, summo studio populum suorum animos haeresi laborantes, cum scribendo tum disputando, conatus est liberare.*" (*Conaei de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos libri duo*, p. 167. Romae, 1628, 4to.) Both Conn and Dempster have inaccurately given him the name of James.

³ " *Romae tandem obiisse dicitur.*" (*Bale*, cent. xiv. p. 223.) " *Obiit Romae, anno, ut puto, 1550.*" (*Dempster*, p. 107.). The

has not been recorded, nor are we better informed with respect to his age; but if he entered the university in 1508 and died in 1550, we may conjecture that he had scarcely attained his sixtieth year. In this academical record however we are only guided by the identity of names, without the aid of any additional evidence.

Bellenden has been extolled as a master of every branch of divine and human learning,¹ and his attainments have even extorted applause from the zealous bishop of Ossory, John Bale, who has so frequently treated the papists with unrelenting severity. In his poetical remains, which are not numerous, he frequently displays an excursive fancy, with considerable taste and skill as a versifier; and it is therefore to be regretted that so few of his compositions have been preserved. The most poetical of his works is the Proheme of the *Cosmographie*: the principal incidents are borrowed from the ancient fiction of the choice of Hercules,² but he has imparted to his copy the characteristic air of an original. Nor is his Proheme of the History destitute of poetical merit. These two poems, as well as the metrical prologue to his translation of Livy, bear internal evidence of having been composed for the instruction of the young king. Two copies of his unpublished prolusion on the conception of Christ are to be found in Bannatyne's M.S.

Beside the works already enumerated, the archdeacon of Moray is reported by Bale to have written "*De Litera Pythagorae*;" nor is there any necessity to adopt Dr Mackenzie's emendation, and substitute *Vita* for *Litera*. The letter of Pythagoras was *upsilon*, not in its more modern

former writer speaks with some degree of hesitation respecting the place, and the latter respecting the date.

¹ "Laboriosa cura et incredibili studio artes omnes humanas atque etiam divinas percepit." (Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 107.)

² Xenophontis Memorabilia, lib. ii. § 21.

form, but having its right side upright, and its left oblique, ¶.¹ The straight but more difficult path of virtue was contemplated in the one, and the crooked but more easy path of vice in the other.² This doctrine is sufficiently unfolded in a short poem ascribed to Virgil:

Litera Pythagorae, discrimine secta bicorni,
 Humanae vitae speciem praeferre videtur.
 Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua callem,
 Difficilemque aditum primum spectantibus offert,
 Sed requiem praebet fessis in vertice summo.
 Molle ostentat iter via lata, sed ultima meta
 Praecipitat captos, volvitque per ardua saxa.
 Quisquis enim duros casus virtutis amore
 Vicerit, ille sibi laudemque decusque parabit:
 At qui desidiam, luxumque sequetur inertem,
 Dum fugit oppositos incauta mente labores,
 Turpis inopsque simul, miserabile transiget aevum.³

Persius likewise alludes to this literal speculation of the Samian sage:

Et tibi quae Samios deduxit littera ramos,
 Surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem.⁴

Vossius has mentioned Bellenden as the author of a work on cosmography,⁵ but this is evidently his translation of Boyce's preliminary description of Scotland. It was stated by Dr. Campbell that many of his writings were then in the possession of persons of distinction in Scotland; and he particularly mentions that several of his poems were in the possession of Laurence Dundas, apparently the pro-

¹ Reinoldii Historia Graecarum et Latinarum Literarum, p. 37. Lond. 1752, 4to.

² Lactantii Divinae Institutiones, lib. vi. cap. iii. Isidori Origines, lib. i. cap. iii.

³ Virgillii Opera, accuratissime castigata, tom. i. Venetiis, 1537, 2 tom. fol.

⁴ Persii Sat. iii. v. 56.

⁵ Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 252.

fessor of humanity at Edinburgh.¹ It is not however improbable that all these were merely the works with which we are still acquainted, and that the poems to which he alludes were modern transcripts.

¹ Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 573.

FLORENCE WILSON.

THIS elegant writer is more generally known by the name of Florentius Volusenus. His signature to a letter written in his native language, is indeed Voluzene ; but as he had adopted the classical appellation of Voluzenus, subsequently improved into Volusenus, he must have found it expedient to use a corresponding vernacular name, that his identity might easily be recognized.¹ His birth may conjecturally be placed about the year 1500. According to the earliest biographical notice of him that has been preserved, he was descended of respectable parents, was born on the banks of the river Lossie, near the town of Elgin, and received a part of his education in the university of Aberdeen. This account

¹ The Wilsons who settled in France were known by the name of Vulson. "La maison de Vvlsou en Dauphiné, de laquelle ie suis le chef, et celle de mesme nom et armes qui est en Escosse en la province de Nithisdile, dont est le chef le seigneur de Croiglin, à cause du cimier qui est vne main de sauage tenant vne massuë d'or, porte pour deuise ces mots, *Pour bien faire.*" (La Science Heroique, traitant de la Noblesse, de l'Origine des Armes, de leur Blasons, &c. avec la Genesologie succincte de la Maison de Rosmadec en Bretagne, par Marc de Vvlsou, Sieur de la Colombiere, Cheualier de l'Ordre de S. Michel, et Gentilhomme ordinaire de la Maison du Roy, p. 466. Paris, 1644, fol.) This chevalier afterwards published "Le vray Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou le Miroir Heroique de la Noblesse, contenant les Combats ov Ievx Sacrez des Grecs et des Romains, les Triomphe, les Tournois, les Ioustes, les Pas, les Emprises ou Entreprises," &c. Paris, 1648, 2 tom. fol.

was printed seventy-three years after his death, and might perhaps be the result of authentic information; but there is nevertheless some reason to suspect that it rests on the sole foundation of an inference, too confidently drawn from a passage in one of his works. He there alludes to a philosophical discussion which, before he quitted his native country, he had held with his friend John Ogilvy, afterwards rector of Cruden, while they were walking on the banks of the Lossie. The beauty of the neighbouring hills, the lake frequented by swans,¹ the magnificence of the cathedral, are all mentioned in terms of due commendation.² It is likewise incidentally mentioned, that he had then studied philosophy for the space of three years: it was therefore an obvious inference that he had pursued an academical course; and as Aberdeen is the university nearest to Elgin, it might appear sufficiently probable that he had resorted to that seat of the northern Muses.

He afterwards prosecuted his studies in the university of Paris, and was there employed in the capacity of tutor to a son of Cardinal Wolsey's brother. Such an appointment might have led to much higher honour and emolument;

¹ Loch Spynie "was formerly three miles in length; but now, by drains and banks, it is much confined. At the east end it is near an English mile broad, but narrow and of unequal breadth westward. It abounds with pykes or geds, and is in winter haunted by swans." (Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, p. 102, edit. Elgin, 1827, 4to.) The bishop of Moray's stately palace stood on the banks of this lake.

² "Dum ego et Joannes Ogilvius, qui nunc apud Scotos Crodanum regit ecclesiam, vir, ut generis claritate, ita literis et moribus ornatissimus, una (nam multum una esse solebamus) in ripa Lossaci amnis, deambulemus. . . . Est sane ille extremæ Britanniae angulus aspectu atque fructu multo jucundissimus, propter frondosos colles vicinos et lacum oloribus habitatum, haud procul ab Elgino oppido, ubi templum est magnifice exstructum." (Volusenus de Animi Tranquillitate, p. 100. edit. Edinb. 1751, 8vo.)

but the death of the cardinal, which took place in the year 1530, compelled him to search for new employment. Another cardinal, Jean de Lorraine, encouraged him in the pursuit of learning by assigning to him an annual pension, of which however the amount was probably small, nor does it appear to have been punctually paid.¹ He likewise obtained the favour of Jean du Bellay, bishop of Paris; and in the year 1534, when that prelate was employed on an embassy to Rome, Wilson was included in his train, and had proceeded as far as Avignon, when he was arrested by a malady which compelled him to relinquish his engagement. In addition to his bodily ailments, he had now to complain of the exhausted state of his purse; and thus he was again left to seek a new path of preferment. From two of his letters which have been preserved in the Cotton Library, we learn that he had visited London, and was personally acquainted with several persons of distinction.² One of these letters, written in his native language, is somewhat mutilated by fire, and is without the superscription: it seems however to have been addressed to Thomas Cromwell, subsequently earl of Essex, and is chiefly occupied

¹ In 1536, Sadoletto wrote in these terms to the French cardinal: "Florentius mecum nunc Carpentoracti est, maximoque animo, et incredibili assiduitate optimis literis, praesertimque philosophiae dat operam; mihi in quotidiana consuetudine admodum jucundus et gratus est. Te porro dominum et patronum suum praedicat ipse, ac proficitur; inque ea parte semper futurus est, quacunque tu jusseris. Eum ego tuae fidei, bonitati, liberalitatis commendo; et abs te vehementer peto, ut quando ipse non minus hic studia doctrinae persequitur, quam si Lutetiae esset, velis, pro tua praestanti liberalique natura, eam mercedem annuam illi salvam abs te esse, quam jampridem constituisti." (Sadoleti Epistolae, p. 228.)

² "Praetereo florentissimi regis gratiam, per quam sane non stetit, quo minus ipse jamdudum omnibus eis ornamentis, quae a fortuna proficisci possunt, sim ampliter collocupletatus." (De Animi Tranquillitate, p. 2.)

with details of ecclesiastical proceedings in Paris.¹ In the other, written in Latin, and addressed to Dr. Starkey, he sends his salutations to Cromwell, then secretary of state, as well as to Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford; and the famous bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, is there mentioned as one particularly interested in the writer.² Both letters are undated; but, from internal evidence, this last appears to have been written in the year 1535. He alludes to his having been in London during the preceding summer; and he reminds his correspondent Starkey that while they were walking in the garden of Antonius Bonvisius, he recommended the city of Carpentras, in the south of France, as a place where he might find a pleasant retreat. As he was anxious to visit Italy, he did not at that time feel inclined to avail himself of this suggestion; but after he had proceeded as far as Lyon, where he met his friend Bonvisius, and was still doubtful whither he should direct his course, he resolved that he would at least take Carpentras in his route. When he arrived at Avignon, he received information that the bishop of the diocese was anxious to find some person properly qualified to teach the public school of Carpentras. This prelate was the celebrated Cardinal Sadoletto, who was himself distinguished for his Latinity; a qualification which had recommended him to the office of apostolical secretary under two successive pontiffs.³ Wilson lost no time in proceeding to the episcopal residence, where he experienced a very gracious reception. The cardinal was one evening engaged in his studies, when a servant announced

¹ Both letters may be found in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 331-6.

² "Reverendissimum Dominum Wintoniensem, si Londini aut in aula fuerit, certiorum facias de Florentii sui statu." He likewise appears to have been personally acquainted with Fisher, bishop of Rochester. (*De Animi Tranquillitate*, p. 250.)

³ Bonamicus de claris Pontificiarum Epistolarum Scriptoribus, p. 210. ed. sec. Romae, 1770, 8vo.

that a stranger, wearing a gown, requested permission to wait upon him. The wayfaring scholar was admitted without delay ; and on being questioned as to his country, his profession, and the occasion of his visit, he answered with so much modesty of sentiment and propriety of expression, that Sadoletto was immediately impressed with a most favourable opinion of his character and attainments. His nice ear was gratified with Wilson's classical Latinity ; nor was he a little surprised on learning that his visitor was a native of a country so wild and remote as Scotland. At an early hour of the following morning, having sent for one of the chief magistrates of the city, together with another functionary apparently concerned in the management of the school, he communicated to them his strong prepossessions in favour of this candidate. He had requested his nephew, Paolo Sadoletto, to enquire in Italy for a person duly qualified to undertake the charge of the school ; but he was now persuaded that he could scarcely expect to find in an Italian the same modesty, prudence, and propriety of address and demeanour. Being invited to dine at the cardinal's with the chief magistrates and other guests, he conducted himself with so much decorum, and displayed so much knowledge, as well as modesty, in the discussion of some questions of natural philosophy, that the patrons of the school thought it unnecessary to seek any other evidence of his qualifications. The magistrates immediately took him aside, and he was appointed master of Carpentras school, with an annual salary of seventy crowns.¹ When we estimate the comparative value of money, this may be considered as no despicable sum ; and it may be supposed that he was entitled to some additional emolument arising from fees. Sadoletto

¹ "Septuaginta coronatorum annuorum præinio proposito," says Wilson in his letter to Starkey. We must suppose Sadoletto to mention a different denomination of money, when he states, "*res pæcta est aureis nummis centenis.*"

was much gratified to find that he was qualified to initiate his pupils in the Greek language.¹

Wilson returned to Lyon, in order to procure, by the aid of Bonvisius, a necessary supply of books. This good friend, who is described as *patricius*, which we may translate a gentleman, appears to have resided alternately in England and France.² His name has obtained very honourable mention in the dialogue on tranquillity of mind. After he has been commended by one of the interlocutors, the subsequent verses, said to have been composed in London, are introduced :

Dum totam erraret forte incommitata per urbem
 Virtus, nec laudum praeemia juncta forent,
 Hospitium multos et supplex saepe rogavit ;
 Qui daret hospitium non tamen ullus erat.
 Aduit haud multo post Laus : res mira ! repente
 Laudis in amplexus urbs furibunda ruit.
 Non secus illa tamen quam dudum exclusa manebat,
 Atque iterum in solum est ire coacta nemus.
 Verum ubi Laus dominam Virtutem sensit abesse,
 Ad dominam ingrata rursus ab urbe venit.
 Utraque post rediens Bonvisi tendit ad aedes :
 Hic Virtus, pulsa Laude, recepta fuit.
 Nam fraudem ille timens blanda sub fronte, recede,
 Laus, ait, hinc, studiis insidiosa bonis.
 Illa refert, frustra me, Antoni, excludere curas,
 Quandoquidem Virtus hic generosa manet.
 Consequor invitam dominam quocunque mearit,
 Nec nisi Virtuti sum bene fida comes.³

¹ Sadoleti Epistolarum libri sexdecim, p. 657. Lugduni, 1554, 8vo.

² Bonvisius likewise appears to have been an Italian. In the course of the dialogue, Michele mentions him in the following terms : " In quibus mentionem facis egregii illius et singularis viri Antonii Bonvisii, qui est ex patritiis nostris." (De Animi Tranquillitate, p. 165.)

³ De Animi Tranquillitate, p. 166. Three of Wilson's poems, of which this is not one, are inserted in the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 539.

The learned writer appears to have fixed his residence at Carpentras in the month of November 1535. To the vocation of teaching grammar he would evidently have preferred that of teaching philosophy;¹ but his taste and attainments as a scholar must have justified the cardinal bishop's first impression of his qualifications to preside over a classical school. He did not however abandon his philosophical studies, nor did he neglect the study of theology. His earliest publication was a theological tract, printed at Lyon in the year 1539.² To this city it is to be inferred that he still continued to pay occasional visits: here Conrad Gesner saw him in the course of the following year, and drew a very favourable augury of his future eminence in literature. After a moderate interval, he published the work which has chiefly recommended him to the notice of posterity: "*De Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus, Florentio Voluseno autore. Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium,*" 1543, 4to. *Lugduni Batavorum*, 1637, 8vo. Some copies of the second edition have a new title, bearing *Hagae Comitum*, 1642. The editor was David Echlin, M. D. physician to the queen. He has prefixed a dedicatory epistle to the earl of Ancram.

¹ "*Cras Carpentoracten versus redeo,*" says Wilson to Starkey, "*illic ne scio quae Ciceronis, Vergilii, Graecaeque praeterea linguae rudimenta enarraturus. Scis me ad hujusmodi provinciam non ita idoneum, et dum homo, ut sic dicam, philosophaster ista tracto, in aliena, quod aiunt, esse arena.*"

² "*Florentii Volusaeni Commentatio quaed. Theolog. quae eadem precatio est, in Aphorismos dissecta. 8°. Lugd. Gryph. 1539.*" (*Bibliotheca Thuana*, tom. i. p. 73.) This tract is likewise mentioned by Gesner, who states that it consists of seven sheets and a half, that is, of one hundred and twenty pages: "*Florentius Volusenus scripsit theologicam orationem sive commentationem, piam et eruditam. Gryphius excudit Lugduni, 1539, in 8. chartis 7 et dimid.*" This tract I have never seen; and I may add in the words of Rudiman, "*Quo autem in angulo delitescat, an penitus interierit, nihil certe possum statuere: neminem equidem novi, qui de eo quidpiam vel fando audiverit.*"

The brief account of the author was not written by Dr. Echlin, but by Thomas Wilson, an advocate, and the son-in-law of Archbishop Adamson. It first appeared as an appendage to the collection of that prelate's works.¹ The next edition was published by the learned and accurate Ruddiman, who, under the name of the printer, has contributed a preface of two pages, and has collected the testimonies of various authors. Edinburgi, 1707, 8vo. A very elegant edition was more recently published under the superintendence of George Wishart, D. D., principal of the university of Edinburgh. Edinb. 1751, 8vo. His own contribution is a syllabus of the contents of the work, together with a copious index; and he has prefixed a Latin epistle, addressed to the editor, by Dr. Ward of Gresham College.*

This elegant dialogue is inscribed "Francisco Michaeli, patricio Lucensi," that is, a patrician of Lucca; and the scene of it is laid in his garden, on the declivity of a hill, which overhangs the city of Lyon. The interlocutors are Michele, Wilson, and Demetrio Caravalla. The work, forming a volume of considerable extent, bears a general resemblance to the dialogues of Cicero, which are rendered highly attractive by the variety of knowledge and vivacity of discussion which they uniformly display. Wilson has evinced no mean share of learning and ingenuity. His Latinity reaches a high standard of classical purity, and his style is distinguished by its fluency and elegance. His pages are diversified by the introduction of some short poems, of which a specimen has already been produced. A long ode, in alternate Glyconian and Asclepiadean verse,

¹ Adamsoni Poemata Sacra. Lond. 1619, 4to.

* Of the popularity of Wilson's name, the following passage of Smollett's comedy of the Reprisal, in which the Scottish ensign addresses the Irish lieutenant, may perhaps be supposed to afford some indication: "Hoot fie, Captain Oclabber, what's a' your philosophy? Did ye never read Seneca *De Consolatione*, or Volusenus, my countryman, *De Tranquillitate Animi*?" (Plays and Poems, p. 136. Lond. 1777, 8vo.)

closes his lucubrations on tranquillity of mind.¹ This ode was translated into English by Ninian Paterson;² and another version has been ascribed to Robert Blair, but without any competent authority.³

Wilson probably continued to reside at Carpentras till the year 1546, when he had formed the resolution of returning to his native country.⁴ The doctrines of the reformers had already made a deep impression in Scotland; and as he felt some difficulty respecting the conduct which he ought to pursue in the midst of contending parties, he deemed it expedient to request the advice and guidance of Sadoleto. The cardinal was generally believed to be actu-

¹ Bentley avers it to be a rule observed by Horace that, in Asclepiadean verse, the last syllable of the choriambus on which the cæsura or pause falls, is invariably the last syllable of a word. The apparent deviations are explained by the nature of the ecthipsis, and by the occurrence of *de* compounded with a verb, *detorquet*: the preposition he considers as not necessarily coalescing with the verb. To this canon, which was not observed by the Greek poets, Buchanan has rigidly adhered; but, as Ruddiman remarks, by several of the modern Latin poets, and by Wilson among the rest, it has been frequently neglected (De Metris Buchananae, p. 3.) In Wilson's ode we find such verses as the following:

Est ventura volup|tas cito transiens.

² Patersoni Epigrammatum libri octo, p. 239. Edinb. 1678, 8vo.

³ The Grave, and other Poems, by Robert Blair, to which are prefixed some account of his life, and observations on his writings, by Robert Anderson, M.D. p. 73. Edinb. 1826, 12mo. Dr. Anderson has remarked that "all evidence, external and internal, is against the ascription of the feeble version of the pious ode of Florence Wilson to the author of the Grave."

⁴ Yes! dear, my country, still thou art,
 Tho' be thy mountains rude and wild,
 Dear as the life-drops to the heart,
 Dear as the hour when lovers part,
 Dear as the mother to her child.
 Thine, native land, our latest sigh.

GILLESPIE'S Poems, p. 194. Edinb. 1805, 8vo.

ated by more moderate principles than most of his dignified brethren: he ventured to maintain a literary correspondence with Melanchthon,¹ the most moderate as well as the most learned of the German reformers; but it is not hard to conjecture what advice, on such an occasion as this, was to be expected from a man clothed in purple, and writing from the city of the seven hills. His answer however is at once friendly and elegant.² Wilson seems to have cherished no violent antipathy towards the cause of reformation. The encreasing defection from the popish church he imputes, in terms sufficiently plain, to the pride, luxury, and negligence of the prelates; and three of the Italian reformers, Martyr, Ochino, and Lacisio, he mentions, not merely without censure, but even with undissembled approbation.³ If he had returned to Scotland, and lived a few years longer, it appears highly probable that he would formally have renounced the gross errors and superstitions of the church in which he had been educated. But he was not again permitted to breathe his native air: having proceeded on his journey as far as Vienne in Dauphiny, he was there arrested by the stroke of death, before the termination of the year 1546. Nor was his memory unhonoured by those who were most capable of estimating his merits: Buchanan,

¹ See Dr. Maccrie's *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 116, 2d edit. Edinb. 1833, 8vo.

² Sadoleti *Epistolae*, p. 639.

³ "In his est Bernardinus Ochinus, vir in concionandi facultate, quantum ad sacra pertinet, longe omnium facundissimus; idemque apud vos religiosae cujusdam factionis, Scapucinos vulgus vocat, olim facile princeps. Sunt item et Petrus Martyr, et Paulus Lacisa, viri cum linguarum multarum, tum philosophiae variae atque multiplicis cognitione insigniter instructi. Et, quod rationibus nostris majorem in modum officiat, quodque facile praestat ut, quaecunque scribant, secundos habituri sint Italiae populos, et in suam plerosque adducant sententiam, sunt omnes natu grandes, nec non sanctitatis nomine vulgo mirifice commendati." (*De Animi Tranquillitate*, p. 3.)

with whom he appears to have been personally acquainted,¹ has commemorated him as dear to the Muses:

Hic Musis, Volusene, jaces carissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria?
Hoc meruit virtus tua, terra quae foret altrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.²

Gesner has stated that in 1540 he was still in the vigour of youth.³ We may therefore conclude that he did not then exceed the age of forty:⁴ if we suppose him to have been thirty-six, he must have been born in 1504, and have

¹ This fact may be inferred from the following inscription in a book preserved in the public library of the university of Edinburgh: "Georgius Buchananus. Ex munificentia Florentii Voluseni." This interesting volume is a copy of the "Dictionarium Hebraicum, nunc primum editum et typis excusum, adjectis Chaldaicis Vocabulis non parum multis. Autore F. Sebastiano Munstero Minorita." *Apud Frob.* 1523, 8vo.

² Buchananani Epigrammata, lib. ii. 12.—The year of his death is stated on the authority of Thomas Wilson; but it may perhaps be doubted whether this writer had any better evidence than the date of Cardinal Sadoleto's farewell letter, written at Rome in 1546.

³ "Noshominem Lugduni vidimus, anno 1540, juvenili adhuc aetate; et magnam ab ejus eruditione perventuram ad studiosos utilitatem expectamus." (Gesneri Bibliotheca Universalis, f. 245. b. Tiguri, 1545, fol.)

⁴ The ancients sometimes extended the period of youth to forty or upwards. Hesiod speaks of a youth of forty. (Opera et Dies, v. 441. edit. Loesneri.)

Τοῖς δ' ἅμα τεσσαρακονταετῆς αἰζήδς ἔπειτο.

According to the common reading, Xenophon describes himself as a young man, *νεανίσκος*, at a period when he appears to have been upwards of forty years of age. (De Cyri Expeditione, lib. ii. p. 115. edit. Cantab. 1784, 4to.) But some manuscripts exhibit a reading which seems to be preferable, *θεόπομπος* instead of *ἔνεοφῶν*. See Schneider's edition of Xenophon, tom. ii. p. 89. According to a classification of the Roman people by Servius Tullius, all males under the age of seventeen were reckoned boys, those from seventeen to forty-six were reckoned young men, *juniores*, and those above this last

died at the age of forty-two. Of his character we receive a very favourable impression from the correspondence of Sadoletto; and another individual to whom he was personally known, Barptolemy Aneau, has given the same account of his virtues, as well as of his manners, which appear to have been very polished and pleasing. This writer not only commends him for his skill in the arts and sciences, and in the classical languages of antiquity, but likewise for his knowledge of the modern languages, French, Italian, and Spanish, which he had acquired by a residence in the different countries where they are spoken.¹ From the preceding narrative it is evident that he had spent a considerable part of his life in France; and we learn from his own authority that he had resided in Italy, and had there found many friends.² At what particular period he visited that country, it is not so easy to ascertain; nor have I been able to discover any other record of his peregrination in Spain.

age were reckoned old men, *seniores*. (Auli Gellii Noctes Atticae, lib. x. cap. xxix.) Cornelius Nepos speaks of Atticus as a young man when he appears to have been about forty years of age. (Vita T. Pomponii Attici, cap. viii.)

¹ Les Emblemes de Seignevr André Alciat, de nouveau translatez en François, vers pour vers, iouxte la diction Latine, &c. Lyon, 1549, 8vo. The translator's name appears in the dedication to the earl of Arran, son to the duke of Châtelherault. "I' ay esté incité," he remarks, "premierement par ma propre election, et apres enhardy par l'aduis consentant de M. Florent Volusen, homme, oultre la bonté des mœurs, et virtue, et la cognoissance des ars et sciences, et choses bonnes et ciuiles, ayant aussi intelligence et faculté des regulieres langues Grecque et Latine, et des vulgaires, Escossoise sienne, François, Italienne, et Esquignolle, à luy acquises par frequentation des nations."

² "Patet tibi haec Gallia, patet et Italia nostra, in qua jamdudum multos tibi amicos habes; plures profecto, si eo te rursus conferas, habiturus." (De Animi Tranquillitate, p. 4.)

JOHN KNOX.

THE great reformer of Scotland was born at the village of Gifford in Haddingtonshire in the year 1505. His father is said, though perhaps without foundation, to have been descended from the family of Ranferly in the same county. The name of his mother was Sinclair ; and some of his letters, written in seasons of danger, were subscribed John Sinclair. Whatever might be the lineage or the situation of the father, the son was enabled to obtain the benefit of a liberal education, such as his native country could then afford. After having been instructed in the Latin language at Haddington school, he was in the year 1521 sent to the university of Glasgow, where philosophy and divinity were taught by John Mair, a celebrated schoolman. The Greek and Hebrew languages were not then publicly taught in Scotland ; but the former of these he acquired when he was yet in the vigour of life, and the latter during the period of his continental exile. It is not sufficiently ascertained that he took a degree ; but if it be correctly stated that he publicly taught philosophy in this university, and afterwards at St. Andrews, we are perhaps to infer that he was a master of arts.

He soon felt himself dissatisfied with the dry and barren speculations of scholastic philosophy and scholastic theology, and was gradually conducted to a more edifying course of

enquiry. Not contented, as his excellent and lamented biographer has stated, with the extracts "from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind, in spite of the prejudices of education, and the pride of superior attainments in his own favourite art. Among the fathers of the Christian church, Jerom and Augustine attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish church, who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. From this time he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared, for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. It was about the year 1535 when this favourable change commenced; but it does not appear that he professed himself a protestant before the year 1542." The reformed doctrines had been preached to his benighted countrymen by Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, a very pious and amiable young man, who obtained the honour of being the protomartyr of Scotland to the protestant faith. On the last day of February 1528, he was inhumanly committed to the flames in the archiepiscopal city of St. Andrews. But the seed which he had thus moistened with his blood, sprung from the ground with a degree of vigour which the foulest blasts of persecution were found incapable of withering. The new opinions were gradually adopted by

men of learning as well as of rank. Between the years 1530 and 1540, a considerable number of victims was doomed to a cruel death, while others escaped the fangs of their persecutors, and sought refuge in England and on the continent. Several of these exiles, and among the rest George Buchanan and Alexander Aless, were men distinguished by their talents and learning, who obtained preferment in foreign universities, and there reflected credit on their native country.

During those times of persecution, Knox was engaged in teaching philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, though it does not clearly appear that he held the office of a regent or professor. Several individuals of his acquaintance had embraced the reformed doctrines : the force of truth gradually affected his own mind, and he arrived at complete conviction in the year 1542, having then attained the age of thirty-seven. As he began to recommend to his pupils a more rational and edifying method of study, he excited some suspicions of heretical pravity ; but when he proceeded so far as to expose certain corruptions of the church, he speedily found it necessary to change his place of residence. Having retired to the south of Scotland, and there avowed his adherence to the cause of reformation, he was declared a heretic, and was degraded from his orders. Nor was Cardinal Beaton satisfied with this more canonical form of procedure : he employed assassins to coöperate in the same design of supporting the church, but his intended victim found shelter and protection in his native county, under the roof of Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, a gentleman who had adopted the same opinions. Here he was retained in the capacity of a domestic tutor ; and the son of another protestant, John Cockburn of Ormiston, was likewise committed to his charge. He communicated religious instruction, not only to his pupils, but also to the other members of the family, and to the people of the immediate neighbourhood.

He was accustomed to catechise them in a chapel at Longniddry, and there at stated times to read and explain a portion of the scriptures. When religious instruction was so scanty, and access to the fountain of sacred knowledge so difficult, the services of so faithful a labourer must have been of no small value. About this period, he received a new impulse from the public and private instructions of George Wishart, who returned to his native country in the year 1544. He had been driven into exile by the bishop of Brechin, for the crime of reading lectures on the Greek Testament at Montrose, and during several years had resided in the university of Cambridge. "Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners, his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity. In his tour of preaching through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses. To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his sermons and private instructions. During the last visit which Wishart paid to Lothian, Knox waited constantly on his person, and bore the sword, which was carried before him from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him in Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal of his faithful attendant, and seems to have presaged his future usefulness, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom."¹

Wishart was brought to the stake at St. Andrews on the 1st of March 1546, and his persecutor, the blood-stained cardinal, was not long permitted to survive. On the 29th of the ensuing May, he was surprised in his castle by a

¹ Maccrie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 41, 5th edit. Edinb. 1831, 2 vols. 8vo.

small and resolute band of conspirators, whom his misdeeds had roused to acts of desperation. Having put him to death, they kept possession of his strong-hold, and procuring assistance from England, they sustained a regular siege from an army collected by the regent Arran. Many protestants, who had no participation in the conspiracy, sought refuge in the castle; and among these were Sir David Lindsay and Henry Balnaves, whose names are familiarly known to all who are acquainted with the literary history of that age. Knox, being among the number of the proscribed, was persuaded by Douglas and Cockburn to follow the example. He was accompanied by his pupils, and continued his religious as well as his literary instructions. In the chapel of the castle, he read lectures on portions of the scriptures; and so favourable an opinion was formed of his talents and attainments, that he was earnestly solicited to officiate as the colleague of John Rough, chaplain to the garrison. It was not without much reluctance that he obeyed the call; but having undertaken this office, he acquitted himself with equal ability and zeal. He occasionally preached in the parish church, as well as in the chapel of the castle, and the popish clergy were at last roused to some degree of counter-exertion: it was arranged that the most learned men of the abbey and university should every Sunday preach in their turn, partly with the view of excluding the protestant ministers from the pulpit, and partly with that of conciliating the affections of the people, whose edification they had too long disregarded. Knox and his colleague were summoned to a public disputation, held in the presence of Winram the sub-prior, who was vicar-general during the vacancy of the see, and who was secretly inclined to the reformed doctrines. He did not himself enter into much discussion, and he was very feebly supported by a Franciscan friar, named Arbuckle, who was finally driven to the desperate averment "that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but

they afterwards received it, and ordained ceremonies." It was more easy for this father to abandon the inspiration of the holy scriptures, than to relinquish the vain ceremonies of the church. So customary has it generally been for mankind to adore the bungling work of their own hands.

During the short period of his ministrations at St. Andrews, many of the citizens renounced the errors of popery, and publicly testified the change of their religious opinions by partaking of the communion according to the rites of the reformed church. But the protestants could not long retain possession of the castle. At the end of June 1547, a considerable reinforcement arrived from France, and enabled the regent to invest the place by sea and land : the garrison made a brave resistance, but after an interval of a month was reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation from Leo Strozzi, the commander of the foreign auxiliaries. It was stipulated that their lives should be spared, that they should be removed to France, and that such of them as declined entering into the French service should be conveyed to any other foreign country. Rough had previously emigrated to England, and there he suffered martyrdom in the year 1557. Knox, sharing the fate of his companions, was conveyed on board one of the French ships, which cast anchor before Rouen ; but the terms of the capitulation were grossly violated, and, at the instigation of the pope and the Scottish clergy, they were treated as prisoners of war. The principal gentlemen were committed to close custody in Rouen, Cherbourg, Brest, and Mont St. Michael ; while Knox and some others were sent on board the galleys, and after being loaded with chains, were compelled to labour at the oar. Here they were subjected to many other indignities ; but in spite of every hardship and every threat, not one of their number could be impelled to renounce his faith. During the ensuing winter, the galley in which he was confined lay in the river Loire ; and, in the summer of 1548, it sailed for Scotland,

and during a considerable period lingered on the eastern coast, for the purpose of intercepting English vessels. The hardships to which he was now subjected produced a very serious effect upon his health : he was seized with a violent fever, and no hope was entertained of his recovery. He however regained his strength, and during his captivity had sufficient energy of mind to compose more than one religious treatise. His treatise on prayer, written during this season of affliction, was afterwards published. Having endured a captivity of nineteen months, he was restored to liberty in February 1549. Of the circumstances which led to this event, various accounts have been given ; but according to Dr Maccrie, " it is more than probable that he owed his deliverance to the comparative indifference with which he and his brethren were now regarded by the French court, who, having procured the consent of the parliament of Scotland to the marriage of Queen Mary to the dauphin, and obtained possession of her person, felt no longer any inclination to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy."

Knox immediately directed his course to England, where his merits and his sufferings were neither unknown nor unregarded. Soon after he made his appearance in London, he received an appointment to officiate at Berwick, where he began to preach with his characteristic fervour and zeal. He exposed the errors of popery with an unsparing hand, and his labours seem to have been attended with no inconsiderable success. The tendency of his zeal was not however calculated to recommend him to the bishop of the diocese, Dr Tonstall, who, although a man of elegant learning, was deeply infected with the ancient superstition. Having been accused of asserting that the sacrifice of the mass is idolatrous, the preacher was cited to appear at Newcastle on the 4th of April 1550, before the bishop of Durham, and to give an account of his doctrine. This prelate was attended by several of his clergy, as well as by various laymen, and a large number of spectators was attracted by

the peculiar circumstances of the investigation. Knox entered into a copious defence of his opinions, and with the utmost boldness proceeded to demonstrate that the mass is a superstitious and idolatrous substitute for the genuine sacrament of the Lord's supper. The bishop, though he probably listened with surprise and indignation, did not venture to inflict any ecclesiastical censure ; and the fame of the obnoxious preacher was extended by this attempt to restrain the boldness of his attacks on the errors of the falling church. Having remained at Berwick till the close of the year, he was afterwards removed to Newcastle. In December 1551, he was appointed one of King Edward's chaplains in ordinary, with an annual salary of forty pounds, which at that period was no mean provision. The chaplains were six in number ; two of whom were to be in constant residence at court, while the other four were employed in preaching in different parts of the kingdom. In the course of this year, the Book of Common Prayer was subjected to a revival, of which it stood in considerable need ; and Knox having been consulted among other divines, was chiefly instrumental in procuring a material alteration in the communion service, which at first was too favourable to the doctrine of the real presence. One deep vestige of this doctrine is still preserved in the kneeling posture of the communicants, which manifestly derives its origin from the popish adoration of the host.

The freedom of his discourses in the pulpit gave offence to various individuals, and among others to the duke of Northumberland, warden general of the northern marches ; and having been accused of high misdemeanours, he was cited to appear before the privy council, which at that period possessed an extensive and ill-defined jurisdiction. But the malice of his enemies was altogether ineffectual, and this call to the metropolis was followed by consequences very different from those which they anticipated. He was fully cleared from every imputation of blame ; and having

been employed to preach at court, he made so favourable an impression on the young king that he expressed his anxiety to promote him in the church. It was resolved by the council that during the following year he should preach in London and the southern counties. Having returned for a short time to Newcastle, he accordingly repaired to the metropolis in the beginning of April 1553. Archbishop Cranmer had previously been directed by the council to present him to the rectory of Allhallows ; but Knox declared that in the existing state of the church he could not conscientiously accept of any preferment. He was again summoned before the council, where he gave an unreserved explanation of his sentiments on that subject. Nor could the promise of much higher promotion induce him to disregard the admonitions of a scrupulous conscience : the king, with the advice of his council, made him an offer of a bishopric ; but instead of availing himself of so favourable an avenue to worldly honours, he declared the office of a bishop, as exercised in the English church, to be destitute of divine authority. It is sufficiently evident that he considered that establishment as but imperfectly reformed from the errors of popery ; and that, in his estimation, the new prelacy, retaining all the idle splendour, as well as the political character of the old, was very widely removed from the simplicity of an evangelical church. The premature death of the king, on the 6th of July 1553, was fatal to the further progress of reformation, and a cloud of spiritual darkness again overshadowed the land.

During his residence at Berwick, Knox had formed a lasting attachment to Marjory Bowes. Her father was Richard, the youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatham ; her mother was Elizabeth, a daughter and coheirress of Sir Roger Aske of Aske. The match was cordially approved by the mother of the young lady, but having been opposed by her father, it was not concluded till after a considerable interval. After the king's death, he had some in-

tention of settling at Berwick, or in the immediate neighbourhood ; but he speedily discovered that he could not safely reside in a kingdom ruled by so bigoted and cruel a sovereign. He therefore sailed for France, and landed at Dieppe on the 20th of January 1554. Having lingered there till the last day of February, he pursued his solitary way through France, and arrived in Switzerland ; but in the beginning of the ensuing month of May, he retraced his steps to Dieppe with the view of obtaining intelligence from his friends in England. At that period, the intercourse between different countries was slow and precarious ; nor was this the only occasion on which he returned to the same place for the same purpose. While he continued to reside on the continent, he received remittances from his friends in Scotland as well as in England, but his provision was neither certain nor ample. Geneva became for some time the chief place of his abode, and here his exile was cheered by the friendship of one of the most illustrious men of the age. Calvin had now attained to the summit of his reputation. They embraced the same opinions with respect to the leading doctrines of the Christian faith, and in their personal character they exhibited several conspicuous points of resemblance. In their notions of ecclesiastical polity they preserved the same agreement ; and the authority of Knox, supported by that of Calvin, has contributed to establish in this country a simple mode of discipline and worship, to which our ancestors adhered with unconquerable resolution, and in support of which many of them were found ready and willing to shed their blood.

The leisure which he enjoyed at Geneva was profitably spent in study, to which he devoted himself " with all the ardour of youth, although his age now bordered upon fifty. It seems to have been at this time that he made himself master of the Hebrew language, which he had no opportunity of acquiring in early life." Many pious and learned men had now been driven from England by the unrelent-

ing cruelty of Queen Mary, and most of them sought refuge in the protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. Those who resorted to the imperial city of Frankfurt, were allowed the joint occupancy of a place of worship; and it was unanimously resolved to discontinue the use of the surplice, the litany, the audible responses, and some other superfluities which might rather excite the surprise than the approbation of their foreign brethren. Having determined to elect three pastors, they sent a letter of invitation to Knox, subscribed by twenty-one of their number, at the head of whom stands John Bale, the exiled bishop of Ossory. It was not without some degree of reluctance that he consented to leave his retreat at Geneva; he however repaired to Frankfurt in the month of November 1554, and entered upon the duties of his new charge, but his connexion with this congregation proved a source of great uneasiness and mortification. Various dissensions which arose among its members, were chiefly occasioned by a difference of opinion as to the propriety of adhering to the English service; and those dissensions were greatly fomented by Dr. Cox, who had been preceptor to King Edward, and who afterwards became bishop of Ely. In the progress of the controversy, Knox appears to have acted with dignity and moderation, but the ardent votaries of the liturgy were not easily diverted from their purpose;¹ for when all other expedients failed, two of their number, with the approbation of others, sought a private interview with

¹ The liturgy still continues to be one of the idols of high-churchmen. "Happy is it for the church," says Dr Cardwell, "that there has always been between these opposite parties a much larger body of worshippers, who have used their Book of Common Prayer with undisturbed devotion, *offering thanks to God continually for his unspeakable gift.*" (Pref. to the two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by authority of Parliament in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, p. xxxv. Oxford, 1838, 8vo.) I may perhaps misapprehend the learned writer's meaning, which I certainly have no wish to misrepresent.

the magistrates, and accused him of treason against the emperor Charles, his son Philip, and his aunt the queen of England. This extraordinary charge was founded upon certain passages in his tract published in 1554, under the title of "A Faythfull Admonition unto the Professours of God's Truthe in England." Of the futility of such an accusation the magistrates were sufficiently aware; but they nevertheless deemed it advisable for him to withdraw from Frankfurt, nor did he venture to disregard the suggestion which they conveyed to him. On the evening of the 25th of March 1555, he delivered a farewell discourse to about fifty members of the congregation; and on the following day they accompanied him several miles on his journey. He immediately returned to Geneva, and he experienced a cordial welcome from Calvin. There he continued till the month of August, when he again proceeded to Dieppe; and having embarked in a vessel bound for Britain, he landed near the eastern border of the two kingdoms about the end of autumn. On reaching Berwick, he found his wife and her mother living in comfortable circumstances. With them he remained for some time, and afterwards pursued his journey to Edinburgh, where he took up his abode with a citizen named John Syme, to whose house the friends of reformation repaired as soon as they were aware of Knox's arrival.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the penal laws, the adherents of the protestant cause were not entirely extirpated or dispersed. The queen dowager, Mary of Lorraine, having succeeded in her attempt to supplant the earl of Arran, had been appointed regent on the 10th of April 1554. She was sufficiently disposed to continue the corruptions of the church, but several prudential considerations restrained her from pursuing more violent measures. Some of the protestants who were driven from England by the atrocities of Mary, a worthy daughter of Henry the Eighth, were permitted to live in Scotland without molestation, and even to

meet, though with some degree of privacy, for the purpose of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience. William Harlow, who afterwards became minister of St. Cuthbert's, is mentioned as the first preacher who returned from the south at this critical period ; and, in different parts of the country, he continued his ministrations till the final establishment of the reformation. His endeavours were ably seconded by John Willock, whom Knox found residing at Edinburgh as an envoy from Anne duchess of Friesland ; for he had been entrusted with a commission for arranging the commercial relations between the two countries.¹ He was born in Ayrshire, and had originally been a Franciscan friar ; but speedily quitting his monastery and renouncing the mass-book, he sought refuge in England, where he was appointed chaplain to the duke of Suffolk. After the death of the young king, he was again compelled to change his place of residence, and he then settled in the town of Embden, and followed the practice of physic. He thus became known to the duchess, who was favourably inclined to the reformation of religion ; and his mission to his native country afforded him peculiar opportunities of promoting that cause in which he felt so deep an interest. He became known to the leaders of the protestant party, who privately resorted to him from the desire of religious edification. At this period, few individuals had openly renounced the Romish creed ; and of those who were most inclined to the protestant doctrines, very few had ventured to discontinue their attendance at mass. Knox was deservedly scandalized at this want of firmness and consistency : a meeting, attended by William Maitland of Lethington and other leaders of the party, was held for the avowed

¹ A book preserved in the Advocates Library contains the following inscription : *To his deare brother Mr. Knox, from Johne Willock.* The book is entitled *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes aliquot detectae, et palam traductae, &c.* Reginaldo Gonsalvio Montano autore. Heidelbergae, 1567, 8vo.

purpose of discussing the lawfulness of such compliances ; and Knox succeeded in his attempt to convince them that all participation in the worship of the Romish church was to be avoided by those who were convinced of her gross errors.

Nor were his exertions confined to the metropolis. He accompanied John Erskine of Dun to his seat in the neighbourhood of Montrose ; and during a visit of a month he preached every day, being attended by the principal persons of the adjacent district. On his return to the south, we find him residing at Calder-house, the seat of Sir James Sandilands, afterwards Lord Torphichen, an early, zealous, and consistent friend of the reformation. In the hall of this baron, who was preceptor in Scotland of the knights of St John of Jerusalem, he preached and administered the communion. Here his ministrations were attended by several persons of distinction ; and among these were Archibald, Lord Lorn ; afterwards earl of Argyle, John, Lord Erskine, afterwards earl of Mar, and James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, afterwards earl of Moray ; all of whom received religious impressions which influenced the future course of their lives. Early in the subsequent year, 1556, he was accompanied to the district of Kyle by Lockhart of Bar and Campbell of Kineancleuch. This division of Ayrshire had been the principal seat of the Lollards in Scotland, and it then contained many friends of the purer religion. They were not therefore unprepared for his reception : he preached not only in the town of Ayr, but likewise in the houses of Bar, Kineancleuch, Carnell, Ochiltree, and Gadgirth, and in several of these places the holy communion was now dispensed. Before Easter, he paid a visit to Finlayston, the residence of Alexander earl of Glencairne, one of the most strenuous friends of the reformation. In this baronial castle he also preached and administered the sacrament. Returning to Calder-house, he next determined to visit his friends in the north ; and during his second residence at Dun, he

was emboldened to preach in a more public manner. Many gentlemen of that vicinity made an open profession of the reformed faith ; and, in order to strengthen their cause, they entered into a solemn engagement to renounce the communion of the popish church, and, to the utmost of their ability, to promote the pure preaching of the gospel. " This," says Dr Maccrie, " seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants, by which the confederation of the protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified."

As he now began to preach more openly, the ecclesiastics felt a natural alarm for the safety of a tottering church ; and the friars testified their zeal by urging the bishops to proceed with rigour against such an offender. He was accordingly cited to appear before an assembly of the clergy, to be held at Edinburgh in Blackfriars church, on the 15th of May ; but when they found that he did not shrink from this discussion, and that he was supported by some persons of influence, they sought a pretext for superseding the citation, on the ground of its informality. On the very day which had been appointed for his appearance, he preached in the bishop of Dunkeld's house to a much larger auditory than had previously attended him in Edinburgh ; and during the ensuing ten days, he regularly preached twice a-day in the same place, without being exposed to any molestation. About this period the Earl Marischal attended one of his evening discourses ; and it may be regarded as a proof of his favourable impression, that he united with the earl of Glencairne in an earnest request, that Knox would address to the queen regent such a letter as might induce her to extend her protection to the protestant preachers. A letter was accordingly addressed to her, and it was delivered by Glencairne, but it does not appear to have produced any change in her sentiments. This letter he afterwards published with some additions.

In the mean time he received from the English congregation at Geneva an invitation to become one of their pas-

tors. He readily listened to their call, and made arrangements for removing thither, accompanied by his wife, as well as by her mother, who had now lost her husband. He embarked them on board a vessel bound for Dieppe, and paid another visit to the several places where he had disseminated the truth of the gospel. He visited the earl of Argyle at Castle Campbell, and there he repeatedly preached to such an auditory as could be assembled. Having thus made no inconsiderable progress in preparing his countrymen for a more general reception of the reformed doctrines, he took his leave in the month of July 1556, and joining his family at Dieppe, he again directed his course to Geneva. His colleague in his new office was Christopher Goodman, B. D., an Englishman, who afterwards became a minister of the church of Scotland.¹ Their congregation chiefly consisted of the exiles who had withdrawn from Frankfurt in consequence of the dissensions already mentioned. The two pastors lived together on terms of the greatest cordiality. Knox likewise enjoyed the friendship of Calvin and Beza; and the two years which he spent in this vocation are described as the most tranquil of his public life. At this period was published a directory for worship and discipline, frequently described as the Order of Geneva; but it had been composed at Frankfurt by Knox, Whittingham, Fox, Gilby, and T. Cole. The same directory was afterwards adopted by the reformed church of Scotland.²

¹ Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 123.

² The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua, and approued by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn. Imprinted at Geneva by Iohn Crespin, 1556, 8vo. This part of the volume consists of 93 pages; which are followed by "One and fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, whereof 37 were made by Thomas Sterneholde, and the rest by others. Conferred with the hebrewew, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required." Next follows "The Catechisme, or manner to teache children the Christian

When the Scottish clergy were apprized of his having quitted the kingdom, they renewed the citation for his appearance ; and those who had no inclination to encounter such a disputant, now found themselves at liberty to proceed against him as a contumacious heretic. He was accordingly condemned to suffer death by fire ; and as the sentence could not be executed on his person, it was executed on his effigy, which was in due form committed to the flames at the cross of Edinburgh. From this sentence he prepared an appeal, which was afterwards printed under the title of "The Appellation of John Knoxe from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishoppes and Clergie of Scotland." In the course of the year which followed his return to Geneva, two citi-

religion, wherein the Minister demandeth the question, and the childe maketh answer. Made by the excellent Doctor and Pastor in Christes Church, Iohn Calvin." The first Scottish edition, which contains some modifications and considerable additions, bears the subsequent title : "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c. vsed in the English Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Church of Scotland : whereunto besydes that was in the former booke, are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of David in English meter." Printed at Edinbvrgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1565, 8vo. The Catechisme has a separate title, bearing the date of 1564. Of this work there are many other editions, several of which were printed in Holland. One edition is entitled "The CL. Psalmes of David in prose and meeter : with their whole vsuall Tunes, newly corrected and amended. Herevnto is added the whole Church Discipline, with many godly Prayers, and an exact Kalendar for xxv. yeeres : and also the Song of Moses in meeter, neuer before this time in print." Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, anno 1615, 8vo. Instead of Calvin's Catechism, this edition includes "A Catechisme of Christian Religion. Appointed to be printed for the vse of the Kirke of Edinbvrgh." A more recent edition bears the title of "The Psalmes of David in prose and meeter : with their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports. Whereunto is added many godly Prayers and an exact Kalendar for xxv. yeeres to come." Printed at Edinburgh by the Heires of Andrew Hart, anno Dom. 1635, 8vo.

zens of Edinburgh, James Syme and James Baron, were the bearers of an invitation for him to resume his evangelical labours in his native country. They were furnished with credentials from the earl of Glencairne, and the lords Erskine, Lorne, and James Stewart. After consulting Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva, he determined to devote himself to this honourable and dangerous service; and he again pursued his way to Dieppe, where he arrived in October 1557. He had however the mortification of receiving letters which entirely disconcerted his plan; for he was informed that some of the protestants already repented of the invitation which had been sent to him, and that the great body of them seemed to waver in their purpose. He lost no time in addressing a letter to the noblemen who had subscribed the credentials; and it may easily be supposed that he did not fail to upbraid them for their want of firmness and consistency. In a similar strain, he likewise wrote to Erskine of Dun, Wishart of Pittarow, and to some other individuals of the protestant party. He lingered in France to await the course of events; and as he was familiarly acquainted with the French tongue, his talents as a preacher were not in the mean time unemployed. About this period, he paid a visit to Lyon, and he is known to have preached at Rochelle. A protestant congregation had recently been formed at Dieppe; and he was now elected one of its pastors, being associated with Delaporte. So successful were their exertions, that some of the principal persons of the town were induced to renounce popery, and a general improvement began to be produced in the morals of the inhabitants. Discouraged by the aspect of affairs in Scotland, he at length determined to revisit Geneva, where he again made his appearance in the beginning of the year 1558. It was at this period that some of the most learned members of his congregation were engaged in preparing an English version of the Bible, and he is said to have had some

share in so laudable an undertaking.¹ The New Testament was printed at Geneva in 1557, and the entire Bible in 1560. This version, commonly called the Geneva Bible, is allowed by competent judges to possess great merit; and, in the opinion of Dr Geddes, it is generally superior to the version executed under the authority of King James. Of the former version, says Dr Maccrie, it is evident that his translators made great use; "and if they had followed it still more, the version which they have given us would, upon the whole, have been improved."

In the course of the year 1558, Knox published three different works. One of these was the Appellation. Another, which has also been mentioned in a former page, was "The copie of a Lettre deliuered to the Ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland." The third and most remarkable of these tracts bears the title of "The first blast of the Trumpet against the monstrovvs Regiment of Wemen." This anonymous work, directed against the political government of females, attracted a very considerable degree of attention. It was speedily answered by John Aylmer, who in due time became bishop of London. The doctrine of Knox as to the inexpediency of female rule was afterwards controverted by David Chalmers of Ormond, and by John Lealey, bishop of Ross. Whatever opinion may be formed of his theory, it must at least be admitted that, either in England or Scotland, he had seen nothing to reconcile him to the practice; and, in one of those countries, the regimen of a woman might with too much justice be termed monstrous. His literary labours were interrupted by the renewal of an invitation from the Scottish protestants; and at the beginning of the year 1559, he bade a final adieu to Geneva, having previously been presented with the freedom of the city. Leaving his family behind, he once more proceeded to

¹ See Archbishop Newcome's Historical View of the English Biblical Translations, p. 68. Dublin, 1792, 8vo.

Dieppe, where he arrived in the month of March ; and having ascertained that he would not be permitted to pass through England, he embarked for Leith on the 22d of April, and was safely landed on the 2d of the following month.

The popish church of Scotland was now approaching its crisis, which the presence of Knox had no small tendency to hasten. The queen regent, who for some time thought it necessary to dissemble her real sentiments, had lately evinced a fixed resolution to oppose the reformation with all the weight of her authority ; and the fires of persecution had been rekindled by Hamilton, the profligate archbishop of St Andrews. Walter Mill, a venerable priest, who had attained the age of eighty-two, was brought to the stake on the 28th of August 1558. This atrocious execution had such an effect in rousing the popular indignation, that the dread of the civil or ecclesiastical authority could no longer restrain the people from making an open avowal of their adherence to the reformed doctrines ; while their spiritual guides, Harlow, Douglas, Methven, and a few others, began, with less fear of detection, to preach and to administer the sacraments. In the month of October, Willock again returned from Embden, and brought a new accession of talent and zeal. The death of the English queen, which took place on the 17th of November 1558, was another event that produced considerable influence on the affairs of the neighbouring states. The queen regent was however prepared to adopt the most violent measures. Several of the preachers, Willock, Harlow, Methven, and Christison, were cited to appear at Stirling before the high court of justiciary on the 10th of May, that is, eight days after Knox's return ; and very soon after his arrival had been announced to Mary, he was proclaimed a rebel and an outlaw. The four preachers were outlawed for non-appearance, and a fine was levied on their sureties. After remaining a single day in the metropolis, he hastened to

Dundee, where the chief protestants of Angus and Mearns were then assembled. They proceeded to Perth, and there he preached a sermon against the idolatry of the mass and of image-worship. After the conclusion of the service, a riot was casually excited among the common people ; and, before it was terminated, the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, with that of the Carthusian monks, were totally demolished. The queen, who was probably glad of such a pretext, collected a considerable army, and advanced upon Perth ; but she found the protestants so well prepared for resistance, that she did not hazard an attack. She proposed and ratified terms of accommodation, which she speedily shewed a strong inclination to disregard. In order to ascertain the strength of their party, and to consolidate its union, they formed a religious bond or covenant, which received many signatures in different parts of the kingdom. From this period, they began to be distinguished by the name of the Congregation, and their noble leaders were commonly described as the Lords of the Congregation.

On his return from Perth, he preached at Anstruther and Craill. Disregarding the admonitions of his friends, and the threats of the archbishop, he next preached in the cathedral of St Andrews, having selected the appropriate subject of our Saviour's driving the profane traders from the holy temple. On the three ensuing days he lifted up his warning voice in the same place ; and so signal was the success which attended his efforts, that the magistrates and the inhabitants resolved to establish the reformed worship in that city ; the pictures and images were removed from the churches, and, on the 14th of June, the monasteries were defaced. He reached the capital in the end of the same month : on the day of his arrival he preached in St Giles's, and on the following day in the Abbey church. On the 7th of July, the body of the protestant inhabitants of Edinburgh elected him as their minister, nor did he decline

the invitation. His wife followed him from Geneva ; and her mother, after visiting her relations in England, likewise came to end her days in Scotland. But he was soon disturbed in his new functions, in consequence of the military occupation of the city by the troops of the queen regent. He now made an extensive circuit in the southern and eastern districts of the kingdom, visiting Kelso, Jedburgh, Dumfries, Ayr, Stirling, Perth, Brechin, Montrose, Dundee, and St Andrews ; nor can we doubt that the impressions produced by such a missionary were great and beneficial. After this period he was deeply engaged in the political as well as the ecclesiastical transactions of the Congregation ; and the vigour of his talents, with the decision of his character, was conspicuously displayed in the steps which led to the establishment of the reformed religion. Knox, as well as Willock, concurred in advising the suspension of Mary from the office of regent. For the space of twelve months, the kingdom was infested with a civil war, in which French and English troops supported their respective allies. The contest, which had not been marked by many of the usual atrocities of intestine warfare, terminated in the month of July 1560. Parliament soon afterwards assembled ; and in the course of a few days the reformed religion was established by the authority of the legislature.

Knox, after officiating for several months at St Andrews, had returned to Edinburgh at the end of April, and continued to exercise his functions during the siege of Leith. Before the close of the year, he was visited with a severe domestic affliction in the loss of his wife, who left two children of tender years. The young queen returned from France on the 21st of August 1561. Not many days after her arrival, she sent for the reformer, of whose powerful influence she must have been fully aware ; but neither this nor any of their subsequent interviews produced the effects which she seems to have anticipated. Such topics as Mary

introduced he discussed with undaunted freedom, though it cannot with justice be affirmed that he treated her with incivility. She certainly did not overawe him with her royal presence, or render him less disposed to use his utmost endeavour in destroying the fabric of ancient superstition.

The Scottish reformation differed in many respects from that of the neighbouring kingdom. In the one case, the most essential trappings of a proud popish prelacy were left uncurtailed, nor was the church sufficiently purified from popish devices and observances.¹ The sign of the cross in

¹ The high-churchmen seem to feel some lingering regret for the discontinuance of the popish prayers for the dead. "In truth," says Mr Waddington, "to pray for the souls of our departed friends is the most natural and pardonable error of piety; and although it be dangerous and improper to inculcate as a church doctrine the efficacy of such prayers, it would neither be right to discourage their private and individual effusion, nor easy to disprove the possibility of their acceptance." (*Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church*, p. 37. Lond. 1829, 8vo.) "Some persons," remarks Mr Palmer, "will perhaps say that this sort of prayer is unscriptural; that it infers either the Romish doctrine of purgatory, or something else which is contrary to the revealed will of God, or the nature of things. But when we reflect that the great divines of the English church have not taken this ground, and that the church of England herself has never formally condemned prayers for the dead, but only omitted them in her liturgy, we may perhaps think that there are some other reasons to justify that omission." (*Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual*, vol. ii. p. 94. Oxford, 1832, 2 vols. 8vo.) This work, which is curious in its way, might with a considerable degree of propriety have been entitled "The Conformity of the Church of England with the Church of Rome." Among other important facts, he is pleased to state that "the bishops who rule the churches of these realms were validly ordained by others, who by means of an unbroken spiritual descent of ordinations derived their mission from the apostles, and from our Lord. This continual descent is evident to any one who chooses to investigate it. Let him read the catalogues of our bishops ascending up to the most remote period. Our ordinations descend in a direct unbroken line from Peter and Paul, the apostles of the circumcision and the Gentiles.

baptism, with the entire apparatus of godfathers and godmothers, confirmation, some part of the funeral service,

These great apostles successively ordained Linus, Cletus, and Clement, bishops of Rome; and the apostolical line of succession was regularly continued from them to Celestine, Gregory, and Vitalianus, who ordained Patrick bishop for the Irish, and Augustine and Theodore for the English. And from those times an uninterrupted series of valid ordinations have carried down the apostolical succession in our churches, even to the present day. There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon amongst us, who cannot, if he pleases, trace his own spiritual descent from Saint Peter and Saint Paul." (Vol. ii. p. 249.) To this last assertion it is only necessary to oppose another; namely, that there is not a single bishop, priest, or deacon, who can trace his own spiritual origin for one-fourth of the requisite period. These historical averments are liable to not a few objections. Thus, for example, it has been clearly shewn by an able antiquary, Dr Ledwich, that there are many reasons for concluding such an individual as St Patrick never existed. (*Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 59. sec. edit. Dublin, 1804, 4to.) That Peter ever visited Rome, is a fact which rests only upon uncertain tradition. "*Qui Petrum Romae fuisse potest credere,*" says Salmasius, "*sane credat et Jacobum in Hispania prædicasse evangelium, et Josephum Arimathee in Britannia.*" (*Apparatus ad Libros de Primatu*, p. 15.) The legend of St Joseph of Arimathea is without hesitation adopted by one of the early champions of apostolical succession. (Mason's *Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 54.) But are a man's hopes of salvation to depend on the adjustment of certain small points of ecclesiastical history? Are they to depend, even in the most attenuated degree, on the circumstance of some individuals having commonly been called bishops and not presbyters? What advantage could possibly result from tracing this succession with the utmost certainty? Till they make an unequivocal display of their miraculous powers, we must totally disregard their extraordinary pretensions. By arguments equally logical and cogent, the bishop of Rome undertakes to prove that he inherits all the spiritual gifts and graces of St Peter, and to these is fully entitled to add all the temporal power and possessions to which he can extend his impious hand. This delirious day-dream of apostolical succession is disgraceful to the protestant name; and all those whom it bewilders would best maintain their consistency by returning to the bosom of their mother church.

kneeling at the communion, the power of the priest to remit or to retain sins,¹ and the power of the bishop to confer the gift of the Holy Ghost, ought to have been left in the sole and undisputed possession of those who still adhere to the mass and transubstantiation.² Queen Elizabeth, the head of the church, was deeply tainted with popery; in-somuch that she was dissatisfied with the twenty-ninth article, as implying a denial of the doctrine of the real presence. She reluctantly permitted the crucifix and tapers to

¹ "Absolution," says Bishop Montague, "is a part of that priestly power, which could not be given by men or angels, but only and immediately by Almighty God himself; a part of that paramount power which the God of glory hath invested mortall men withall." (*Appello Caesarem*: a ivst Appeale from two vniust Informers, p. 316. Lond. 1625, 4to.) Is not this absolute popery? "That the church," says Mr. Palmer, "did not mean to abolish confession and absolution (which she even regards as a sort of sacrament) in general, appears from the office of the eucharist, and for the visitation of the sick, then drawn up; and from the powers conferred on priests in the ordination services." (*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 518. Lond. 1838, 2 vols. 8vo.)

² "Whence it is," says Dr More, "that out of a spirit of charity and tender kindness, she has in some things, in themselves indifferent, humbly condescended to symbolize with that lapsed lady of Rome, to bring off her abused paramours to the pure worship of God." (*Mystery of Iniquity*, p. 468. Lond. 1664, fol.) As to things indifferent, or things so called, it may be proper to add a word of explanation. "The cross in baptism," says Locke, "kneeling at the sacrament, and such like things, being impossible to be known necessary to salvation, a certain knowledge of the truth of the articles of faith of any church, could not authorize the magistrate to compel men to embrace the communion of that church, wherein any thing were made necessary to communion, that he did not know was necessary to salvation." (*Letters concerning Toleration*, p. 121. Lond. 1765, 4to.) It has been very judiciously remarked by Dr Twisse, that "things lawful in themselves become unlawful by accident; as when they are superstitiously practised, though not by ourselves, yet by concurring in the same act, we may scandalize by countenancing the superstitions of others."

be removed from the altar in her chapel. It seems to have been by her private authority that a clause, unsanctioned by the convocation, was added to the twentieth article;¹ a clause which makes the Romish averment that "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." The king or queen superseded the pope as head of the church; and thus a protestant body might have, and in more instances than one has actually had, a popish head. Pluralities and non-residence, two manifest remnants of popery, have been closely interwoven with an establishment, in which the idle splendour of one class of ecclesiastics is placed in so indecent a contrast with the laborious poverty of another.² The cry for a reformation of this church has however become loud and deep;³

¹ See Archdeacon Blackburne's Confessional, p. 368, and Dean Lamb's Historical Account of the thirty-nine Articles, p. 33. Cambridge, 1829, 4to.

² Bishop Lowth has stated that "there were some in England who, by the pope's authority, possessed at once twenty ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, with dispensation moreover for holding as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number." (*Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester*, p. 28, 8d edit. Oxford, 1777, 8vo.) In what protestant country, except England and Ireland, is the system of pluralities and non-residence maintained to any extent? They are an intolerable nuisance, which even there must very speedily be abated.

³ Even the late regius professor of divinity at Oxford was convinced that there is a great and general "demand for church reform;" and as Dr Burton was a man of sense as well as learning, he must likewise have been aware that, when there is a great and general demand for any commodity, it can in most cases be supplied. His notions of reform, as the reader may easily conjecture, were not extravagant; and some of his suggestions are not deficient in worldly wisdom. It is notorious, as he avers, that many clergymen enjoy the income of their benefices, because the presentations have been bought and sold; and "if any legislative enactment should reduce their incomes, the patrons must in all fairness refund part of the purchase-money." (*Thoughts upon the Demand for Church Reform*, p. 38.

nor can the spirit of enquiry be quenched by a repetition of averments utterly childish, that the church of England is not only apostolical, but likewise catholic; and that other protestant churches, unable to prove their close affinity to popery, have no claim to be regarded as constituting any part or portion of the church of Christ.¹ "Here," says one of the Oxford preachers of a slightly-modified popery, "I will not shrink from uttering my firm conviction, that it would be a gain to this country, were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be."² We may doubtless suppose this writer to understand of what raw materials "the holy apostolic church," according to his own abject notion of it, ought to be composed; but, in him and his chosen band of confederates, we may safely aver that the most curious enquirer will find it difficult to detect any lack of superstition and bigotry.

During the age of Knox, the metropolis of Scotland contained only one parish church. He was at first assisted by a reader, named John Cairns. It was then his regular practice to preach twice every Sunday, and thrice on other days of the week; but in the year 1563, John Craig, minister of Canongate, was appointed his colleague. In 1562,

Oxford, 1831, 8vo.) All the lay-dealers in such articles must therefore perceive the dangerous tendency of a reform in the church.

¹ "Their predecessors the presbyterians," says Mr Palmer in allusion to Scottish dissenters, "voluntarily separated themselves from the catholic church of Christ, and they in departing from the presbyterian communion have not yet returned to that of the true church. Consequently they form no part of the church of Christ." (*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 577.) The same enlightened and charitable writer has elsewhere remarked, "we have no right to admit that any persons out of the church [of England] are, or can be in the way of salvation." (Vol. i. p. 254.) Such superannuated and drivelling bigotry as this is disgraceful to the university of Oxford, and is only worthy of Coimbra or Salamanca.

² Newman's *Parochial Sermons*, p. 368. Lond. 1834, 8vo.

he had for three successive days been engaged at Maybole in a public disputation with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossragwell; and in the course of the following year, an account of it was printed at Edinburgh, under this title: "Heir followeth the coppie of the Ressoning which was betuix the Abbote of Crosraguell and John Knox." Another learned priest, Ninian Winzet, addressed to him a "Buke of four scoir thre Questionis," to which it was his intention to publish an answer, though he seems to have been prevented by his other avocations, which were sufficiently numerous. After this period he incurred the hot indignation of the queen for having, in one of his public discourses, animadverted with great freedom on her intended marriage. During one of their interviews, she wept bitter tears of anger; and some modern historians have been not a little scandalized at his want of gallantry. In the month of December 1563, he was summoned before the privy council on a charge of high treason, for having written a circular letter to the protestant gentlemen, in reference to the trial of two persons who had been indicted for a riot in the chapel royal. Of this charge he was fully acquitted, to the great disappointment of Mary and the popish party.

After having continued a widower for more than three years, he married Margaret Stewart, daughter of the good Lord Ochiltree. This marriage took place in March 1564, when he had attained the age of fifty-nine. The noble family with which he thus became connected was descended from Robert duke of Albany, second son of King Robert the Second. Knox was again brought before the privy council, for having, in a sermon preached in St Giles's on the 19th of August 1565, used certain expressions, or rather quoted certain texts, which gave great offence to the king, who was present, and applied them to himself. He was for a short time prohibited from preaching. Early in the following year, Mary subscribed the catholic league for the extirpation of the protestants; and if she had not

been controlled by several prudential considerations, she seemed sufficiently prepared to adopt extreme measures. When she returned from Dunbar, soon after the death of Rizzio, he retired from Edinburgh, and sought refuge in Kyle; nor does he appear to have resumed his pastoral care till after the final overthrow of her authority.

Towards the close of the year he prepared to visit England, where his two sons were residing with some of their mother's relations, for the purpose of receiving their education. He appears to have returned home soon after the queen had plunged herself into ruin by her marriage with Bothwell. He was a member of the general assembly convened at Edinburgh on the 25th of June 1567; and he preached a sermon at the coronation of the young king, which took place at Stirling on the 29th of the ensuing month. The assassination of the regent Moray, and the civil troubles which ensued, depressed his mind and affected his health: in October 1570 he felt a stroke of apoplexy, which however was of so mitigated a kind that he was able to appear in the pulpit; but his strength was greatly impaired by his unceasing exertions, and he never recovered any considerable degree of vigour. Before the end of that year, the freedom of his animadversions in the pulpit gave such deep offence to Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, that at length he found it expedient to change his habitation. He quitted the metropolis on the 5th of May 1571, and retired to St Andrews, the scene of his early labours. Here in the following year he published "An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie." In a state of great debility he returned to Edinburgh towards the end of August 1572; and on the 24th of November he closed his most laborious and most honourable career, after having attained the age of sixty-seven. He left two sons by the first, and three daughters by the second marriage. Both his sons studied at St John's College, Cambridge, and both of them became fellows.

Nathanael, the elder of the two, took the degree of A. M., and died in the year 1580. Eleazer, the younger son, proceeded B. D., and was one of the preachers of the university. Having been collated to the vicarage of Clacton-Magna, he died in 1591, and was buried in the college chapel. The three daughters, named Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were married to three clergymen, James Fleming, Zachary Pont, and John Welsh. The widow of Knox became the wife of Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, who is described as a strenuous supporter of the reformation.

The vigorous and ardent mind of Knox was lodged in a diminutive and feeble body, which had been wasted by various hardships, and by intense mental exertion. His natural talents were improved by no mean attainments of learning, and he was eminently distinguished by an impetuous and impressive eloquence, which gave him a great ascendancy among his countrymen. That he was a man of fervent and habitual piety, will not be disputed by any one whose prejudices do not prevent him from forming a correct estimate of his character. From an early period of his life, he devoted his entire energies to the best of all causes ; and, in the hand of Providence, he was the great instrument which rescued his countrymen from the fangs of papal tyranny and superstition ; nor is any other name entitled to be mentioned with equal honour in the annals of Scottish history. Of civil as well as ecclesiastical tyranny he was a decided enemy ; and his writings contain some bold speculations on the subject of government. No man was more upright in his intentions, or more disinterested in his motives. That the impetuosity of his character occasionally impelled him beyond the bounds of moderation, may be fully admitted without any diminution of the respect due to his name : he was placed in a situation which required great energy and decision ; and a person chiefly distinguished by the gentler virtues, would have been very indifferently prepared

to encounter the boisterous elements with which he was destined to contend.¹ It is not to be concealed that he was not exempted from that spirit of intolerance which, in a greater or less degree, belonged at that period to every sect and denomination of Christians.² He was as little disposed to tolerate the mass as the mass-priests were to tolerate those whom they termed heretics. The principles of mutual toleration were little understood or relished; and almost every one who possessed the power, betrayed the inclination of imposing, by every ungentle means, his own creed upon his neighbour.

Beside the works which have already been mentioned, he composed various others, which are accurately enumerated by his biographer. "His practical treatises," says Dr Maccrie, "are among the least known, but most valu-

¹ "As the man," says Dr Paley, "who attacks a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck, few ever will be found to attempt alterations but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution, of warm, eager, and impetuous tempers; consequently, if we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till the church governors solicit, or ministers of state propose it, I will venture to pronounce, that (without His interposition with whom nothing is impossible) we may remain as we are till the renovation of all things." (*Sermons and Tracts*, p. 43.)

² "It is," as Dr Macqueen has remarked, "no doubt perfectly easy for us, at this distance, to sit down in great tranquillity, and sagely to pronounce that this or the other measure was too precipitate; and that the zeal of certain persons, at such a time, and of the multitude at such another, was quite irregular. But if we look backwards, and impartially consider the state of things at that period, and the different circumstances affecting it, our censure must needs be more modest; and we shall probably find ourselves inclined to admit an apology for that which cannot obtain our approbation. In the midst of a storm at sea, it is not surely to be expected that things should be managed so calmly and prudently as in moderate weather and an easy voyage." (*Letters on Mr Hume's History of Great Britain*, p. 83. Edinb. 1756, 8vo.)

able of his writings. In depth of religious feeling, and in power of utterance, they are superior to any works of the same kind which appeared in that age. The thoughts are often original, and always expressed in a style of originality, possessing great dignity and strength, without affectation or extravagance." The work by which he is best known as an author is "The Historie of the Reformatioun of Religion within the Realm of Scotland." So early as the year 1586, an octavo edition of it, to the extent of twelve hundred copies, was undertaken in England by Vautrollier, a well-known printer; but when ready, or nearly ready for publication, it was seized by the command of Archbishop Whitgift. Some imperfect copies, all of them wanting the beginning and the end, have however survived this visitation of the protestant inquisitor. An edition was afterwards published by David Buchanan, who has taken very unwarrantable liberties with the text. Lond. 1644, fol. Edinb. 1644, 4to. He has suppressed various passages, and interpolated others; and the fifth book, which has not been found in any manuscript, is perhaps his sole composition.¹ A genuine edition, "taken from the original manuscript in the university library of Glasgow," was at length published by Mathew Crawford, professor of ecclesiastical history in the university of Edinburgh. Edinb. 1732, fol. A collective edition of his works, executed with fidelity and elegance, might be preferable to any monument of bronze or marble that could be erected to the memory of this great benefactor of his native country.

¹ Of Knox's history various manuscripts have been preserved. One of these is in my possession, and bears the date of 1641.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

THE genius and taste of Buchanan reflect the highest reputation on his native country ; nor can Scotland boast of another name equally illustrious in the general history of literature. The most learned and fastidious of his contemporaries regarded him as the best Latin poet of the age ; and, by a rare felicity of genius, he attained to the same pre-eminence as a writer of prose.

George Buchanan was born about the beginning of February in the year 1506. His father was Thomas, the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummikill, his mother Agnes Heriot, of the family of Trabroun. The house from which he descended he has himself characterized as more remarkable for its antiquity than for its opulence. Thomas Buchanan the younger obtained from his father a grant of the farm of Mid-Leowen, or, as it is more commonly called, the Moss, situate in the parish of Killearn and county of Stirling. He died of the stone at a premature age ; and, about the same period, the poet's grandfather found himself in a state of insolvency. The family, which had never been opulent, was thus reduced to extreme poverty : but his mother struggled hard with the misery of her condition ; and all her children, five sons and three daughters, arrived at the age of maturity. In the year 1531, a lease of two farms near Cardross was granted by Robert Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, to her and three of her

sons, Patrick, Alexander, and George. One of her daughters appears to have married a person of the name of Morison: Alexander Morison, the son of Buchanan's sister, published an edition of his uncle's paraphrase of the Psalms.

Her third son, whose extraordinary attainments have rendered the family illustrious, is reported by oral tradition to have been indebted for the rudiments of learning to Killearn school, which long continued to maintain a considerable reputation. Mid-Leowen, which stands on the banks of the Blane, is situate at the distance of about two miles from the village; and it may be conjectured that the future poet and statesman daily walked to school, and carried along with him his homely repast. Dr Mackenzie, whose authority is extremely slender, asserts that he was partly educated at the school of Dunbarton. His very promising talents recommended him to the favour and protection of his maternal uncle, James Heriot, who, apparently in the year 1520, sent him to prosecute his studies in the university of Paris. It was here that he began to cultivate his poetical talents; partly impelled, as he informs us, by the natural temperament of his mind, partly by the necessity of performing the usual exercises prescribed to younger students. Some of the French writers most capable of estimating his attainments, have not neglected to record his obligations to their country: Vavasseur has remarked that, although a Scotchman by birth, he might well pass for a French poet, since all that he knew of polite literature, and particularly of poetry, he had acquired in France. Buchanan did not profess to be one of those bright geniuses who can master a new language every six weeks; he incidentally states that his knowledge of Latin was the result of much youthful labour. The Greek tongue, in which he likewise attained to proficiency, he acquired without the aid of a preceptor. The current speech of his native district at that period may be supposed to have been Gaelic. Of this language it is at least certain that he possessed some know-

ledge; and an anecdote has been related which at once confirms the supposition, and illustrates his peculiar vein of humour. When in France, having met with a woman who was said to be possessed with the devil, and who professed to speak all languages, he accosted her in Gaelic: as neither she nor her familiar returned any answer, he entered a protest that the devil was ignorant of that tongue.

Within the space of two years after his arrival in Paris, his uncle died, and left him exposed to want in a foreign country: his misery was increased by a violent distemper, which had perhaps been occasioned by poverty and mortification; and in this state of hopeless languor he returned to Scotland at the critical age of sixteen. Having devoted the best part of a year to the recovery of his health, he next assumed the character of a soldier, and served along with the auxiliaries whom the duke of Albany had conducted from France. The Scottish forces, commanded by the regent in person, marched towards the borders of England, and, about the end of October 1533, laid siege to the castle of Werk. The auxiliaries carried the exterior wall by assault, but could not long occupy the station which they had gained. The large area between the two ramparts, intended as a receptacle, during the time of war, for the cattle and stores of the neighbouring peasantry, was at this crisis replenished with materials of a combustible nature; and when the garrison found themselves repulsed by the French soldiers, they set fire to the straw, and speedily expelled their enemies by the flames and smoke. During the two following days, the assailants persisted in battering the inner wall: when they had effected a sufficient breach, the French soldiers again rushed to the attack, and surmounted the ruins; but they were so fiercely assaulted by missile weapons from the inner tower, which was yet entire, that after having sustained some loss, they were compelled to retreat, and repassed the Tweed. The duke, finding his native troops disaffected, and the army on the English frontier too for-

midable from its numbers, removed his camp on the 11th of November; and as he marched towards Lauder after midnight, his army was terribly annoyed by a sudden storm of snow.

Buchanan, who belonged to a fierce and warlike nation, seems to have caught some portion of the military ardour. It was his youthful curiosity respecting the profession of arms which had thus prompted him to mingle in danger; and he was persuaded that there is a very close affinity between the studies of literature and of war. In his history of Scotland, written at an advanced age, he often describes feats of chivalry with great animation. But his experience in the course of this inglorious campaign did not render him more enamoured of a military life: the hardships which he had undergone reduced him to his former state of languor; and during the rest of the winter he was confined to bed. In the beginning of the ensuing spring, when he had completed the eighteenth year of his age, he was sent to the university of St Andrews, where he and his brother Patrick were at the same time matriculated in what was then called the Pedagogy, and afterwards St Mary's College. On the 3d of October 1525, George Buchanan took the degree A. B.; and it appears from the faculty register that he was then a *pauper* or exhibitioner. In this college logic was then taught by John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne. Buchanan informs us that it was to hear his prelections that he had been sent to St Andrews, and that he afterwards followed Mair to France. It has been very confidently stated, that he was now a dependent on the bounty of this venerable commentator on Peter of Lombardy; and if the fact could be established by any competent evidence, the character of Buchanan must be subjected to severe reprehension; for he mentions his supposed benefactor in terms which convey no suggestion of gratitude. Of this generous patronage, however, there is not even the faintest shadow of evidence; and such a tale manifestly

originated from the misinterpretation of a very unequivocal passage in Buchanan's account of his own life.

Upon his return to France, he became a student in the Scottish College of Paris. On the 10th of October 1527, he was incorporated A. B., and he took the degree of A. M. next March. During the year 1529, he was a candidate for the office of procurator of the German nation ; but his purblind countryman Robert Wauchope, who was afterwards titular archbishop of Armagh, and who sat in the council of Trent, was then elected for the ninth time. Buchanan was thus repulsed on the fifth of May, but on the third of June 1530 he was more successful.

Before this period, the tenets of Luther had begun to be widely disseminated, and Buchanan was now added to the number of his converts. Having for the space of two years continued to struggle with the iniquity of fortune, he was appointed a regent or professor in the College of St Barbe, where he taught grammar for about three years. His eminent qualifications for such an employment will not be questioned, but his services do not seem to have procured him any splendid remuneration : in an elegy, apparently composed about this period of his life, he exhibits a dismal picture of the miseries to which the Parisian professors of humanity were then exposed. His appointment seems to have taken place in the year 1529. Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis, who was residing near this college, having become acquainted with Buchanan, admired his literary talents, and was delighted with his conversation : he was therefore solicitous to retain so accomplished a preceptor, and their closer connection probably commenced in the year 1532. The first work that Buchanan committed to the press, was a translation of the famous Thomas Linacre's rudiments of Latin grammar ; which he inscribed to Lord Cassillis, "a youth of the most promising talents, and of an excellent disposition." This Latin version was printed at Paris in 1533.

After he had resided with his pupil for five years, they both returned to Scotland. At this period the earl had reached the age of majority ; and Buchanan might only embrace a favourable opportunity of revisiting his relations and friends. Their connexion however was not immediately dissolved. While he was residing at the earl's seat in Ayrshire, he composed a little poem which rendered him extremely obnoxious to the ecclesiastics. In this poem, which bears the title of *Somnium*, and is a happy imitation of Dunbar, he expresses his own abhorrence of a monastic life, and stigmatizes the impudence and hypocrisy of the Franciscan friars. It was his original intention to resume his former occupations in France, but James the Fifth retained him in the capacity of preceptor to one of his natural sons. This son was not, as has generally been supposed, the celebrated James Stewart, who afterwards became regent of the kingdom, but another who bore the same baptismal name. His mother was Elizabeth Shaw, of the family of Sauchie ; and he died in the year 1548. It was perhaps in the year 1537 that Buchanan entered upon his new charge ; for in the course of that year the king made an arrangement with respect to his four sons. The abbacies of Melrose and Kelso were secured in the name of Buchanan's pupil, who was the eldest.

The preferment of a profane scoffer at priests must have augmented the spleen of the clergy ; and the Franciscan friars, still smarting from his *Somnium*, found means of representing him to the king as a man of depraved morals and of dubious faith. But James had formerly begun to discover their real character ; and the part which he supposed them to have acted in a late conspiracy against his own life, had not contributed to diminish his antipathy. Instead of consigning the poet to disgrace or punishment, the king, who was aware that private resentment would improve the edge of his satire, enjoined him in the presence of many courtiers to renew his well-directed attack on the same pious fathers.

He accordingly applied himself to the composition of the poem, afterwards published under the title of *Franciscanus*; and, to satisfy the king's impatience, soon presented him with a specimen. This production, as it now appears in its finished state, may be pronounced one of the most pungent satires which any language can exhibit. No class of men was ever more completely exposed to ridicule and infamy; nor is it astonishing that the popish clergy afterwards regarded the author with implacable hatred.

But the church being infallible, he speedily recognized the danger of accosting its retainers by their proper names. At the beginning of the year 1539, many individuals suspected of Lutheranism were involved in the horrors of persecution. Towards the close of February, five were committed to the flames, nine made a formal recantation of their supposed errors, and many were driven into exile. Buchanan had been comprehended in this general arrest; and after he was committed to custody, Cardinal Beaton endeavoured to accelerate his doom by tendering to the king a sum of money as the price of his blood. Of this circumstance Buchanan was apprized by some of his friends at court; and his knowledge of the king's rapacity must have augmented all the terrors of his situation. Stimulated by the thoughts of increasing danger, he made his escape through the window of the apartment in which he was confined. But he had soon to encounter new disasters: when he reached the frontier of the two kingdoms, he was molested by the freebooters, who at that time were its sole inhabitants; and his life was again exposed to jeopardy from the contagion of a pestilential disease, which then raged in the north of England. On his arrival in London, he experienced the friendship of Sir John Rainsford, an English knight, who is mentioned as the only person that protected him against the fury of the papists. He met with no particular inducement to continue his residence in England, which was then governed by an atrocious

tyrant. The civilization of France, as well as the particular intimacies which he had formed in that country, led him to adopt the resolution of returning to Paris : but, on his arrival, he found that Cardinal Beaton was residing there in the capacity of an ambassador ; and his friend Andrew Govea, a native of Portugal, having invited him to Bordeaux, he did not hesitate to embrace such an opportunity of removing himself beyond the reach of the cardinal's deadly hatred. Of the College of Guienne, Govea had been nominated principal ; and Buchanan, evidently on his recommendation, was now appointed one of the professors. Here he must have fixed his residence before the close of the year ; for to Charles the Fifth, who made his solemn entry into Bordeaux on the first of December 1539, he presented a poem in the name of the college.

The task assigned him at Bordeaux was that of teaching the Latin language. For an occupation of this kind he seems to have entertained no particular affection ; but although sufficiently laborious, it never impaired the native elevation of his mind. His poetical studies he now prosecuted with great ardour ; during the three years of his residence at Bordeaux, he completed four tragedies, together with various other poems. The earliest of his dramatic compositions bears the title of *Baptistes*. He had applied himself to the study of the Greek language without the aid of a preceptor, and as a useful exercise had executed a translation of the *Medea* of Euripides. This version he now delivered to the academical stage, and afterwards suffered it to be printed. Those two tragedies were performed with a degree of applause which almost exceeded his hopes. He afterwards completed his *Jephthes*, and translated the *Alcestis*, another drama of his favourite poet. These last productions, as he originally intended them for publication, were elaborated with superior diligence. The tragedy of *Jephthes* is conformable to the models of the Grecian theatre, and is not destitute of interest. The subject is highly dra-

matic ; it is a subject which his great exemplar Euripides might have been inclined to select. The situation of a father who had unwarily subjected himself to the dreadful necessity of sacrificing a beloved and only child, the repugnant and excruciating sensations of the mother, the daughter's mingled sentiments of heroism and timidity, are delineated with considerable felicity of dramatic conception. The tender or pathetic was not however the peculiar province of Buchanan, whose talents were bold, masculine, and commanding. The *Baptistes*, although inferior to the other tragedy in dramatic interest, is more strongly impregnated with the author's characteristic sentiments. Its great theme is civil and religious liberty ; and against tyranny and priestcraft the poet frequently expresses himself with astonishing boldness. Some of his allusions bear a very easy application to the late conduct of Cardinal Beaton. In the tragedies of the ancient Greek poets, what is termed the prologue is always an essential part of the drama ; but the prologue of the *Baptistes* resembles those of Terence. Buchanan seems to have adopted this model, because it afforded him a better opportunity of preparing his auditors for the bold sentiments which they were about to hear.

During the term of his residence in the College of Guienne, the satirist of the Scottish clergy did not find himself totally secure from danger. The cardinal, in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Bordeaux, requested him to secure the person of the heretical poet ; but as his letter had been entrusted to the care of some individual much interested in the welfare of Buchanan, he was suffered to remain without molestation. Still however he found himself annoyed by the threats of the cardinal and the grey friars ; but the death of King James, and the appearance of a dreadful plague in Guienne, alleviated his former apprehensions.

Having resided three years at Bordeaux, he returned to Paris. In 1544 he was officiating as a regent in the College

of Cardinal le Moine ; and he apparently retained the same station till 1547. About this period he was miserably tormented with the gout. The ardour of his fancy was however undiminished : in an interesting elegy, composed in 1544, and addressed to his late colleagues Tastaëus and Tevius, he exhibits a dismal picture of his own situation ; and gratefully commemorates the assiduous attentions of his present colleagues Turnebus and Gelida. It is remarked by a French historian, that three of the most learned men in the world then taught humanity in the same college. The first class was taught by Turnebus, the second by Buchanan, and the third by Muretus.

The king of Portugal had recently founded the university of Coimbra ; and as his own dominions could not afford a sufficient supply of able professors, he invited Andrew Govea to preside over the new institution, and to conduct from France a considerable number of proficients in philosophy and ancient literature. Govea accordingly returned to his native country in the year 1547, accompanied by Buchanan and other associates. The affairs of Europe presented an alarming aspect ; and Portugal seemed to be almost the only corner free from tumults. To the proposals of Govea he had not only lent a willing ear, but was so much satisfied with the character of his associates, that he also persuaded his brother Patrick to join this famous colony. To several of its members he had formerly been attached by the strictest ties of friendship ; these were Gruchius, Garentaëus, Tevius, and Vinetus, who have all distinguished themselves by the publication of learned works. The other scholars of whom it consisted were Arnoldus Fabricius, John Costa, and Anthony Mendez, who are not known as authors : the first was a native of Bazats, the other two were Portuguese. All these professors, except P. Buchanan and Fabricius, had taught in the College of Guienne. To this catalogue Dempster has added other two Scotch names, those of John Rutherford and William

Ramsay. Govea died in the year 1548; and after Buchanan and his associates were deprived of his protection, the Portuguese began to persecute them with unrelenting bigotry. Three of their number were thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition, and after having been subjected to a tedious imprisonment, were at length arraigned at this direful tribunal. According to the usual practice, they were not confronted with their accusers, of whose very names they were ignorant. As they could not be convicted of any crime, they were overwhelmed with reproaches, and again committed to custody.

Buchanan had attracted an unusual degree of indignation. He was accused of having written an impious poem against the Franciscans, yet with the nature of that poem the inquisitors were totally unacquainted. He was also charged with the heinous crime of eating flesh in Lent, and yet with respect to that very article, not a single individual in Portugal deemed it necessary to practise abstinence. Some of his strictures relative to monks were registered against him, but they were such as monks only could regard as criminal. He was moreover accused of having alleged, in a conversation with some young Portuguese, that with respect to the eucharist, St Augustin appeared to him to be strongly inclined towards the opinion condemned by the church of Rome. Two witnesses, whom he afterwards discovered to be Ferrerius and Talpin, made a formal deposition of their having been assured by several respectable informants, that Buchanan was disaffected to the Romish faith.

After the inquisitors had harassed him for the space of nearly two years and a half, they confined him to a monastery, for the purpose of receiving edifying lessons from the monks; whom, with due discrimination, he represents as men by no means destitute of humanity, but totally unacquainted with religion. In their custody he continued several months; and it was about this period that he began

his version of the Psalms, afterwards brought to so happy a conclusion. That this translation was a penance imposed upon him by his illiterate guardians, is only to be considered as an idle tale: it is much more probable that a large proportion of the good monks were incapable of reading the Psalms in their native language. When he was at length restored to liberty, he solicited the king's permission to return to France: he was however requested to protract his residence in Portugal, and was presented with a small sum of money till he should be promoted to some station worthy of his talents; but his ambition of Portuguese preferment was not perhaps very violent, for he still remembered with regret the learned and interesting society of Paris. In a beautiful poem, entitled *Desiderium Lutetiae*, and apparently composed before his retreat from Portugal, he pathetically bewails his absence from that metropolis, which he represents under the allegory of a pastoral mistress. Having embarked in a Canadian vessel, which he found in the port of Lisbon, he was safely conveyed to England. Here however he did not long remain, though he might have procured some creditable situation, which he himself has not particularized. He returned to France about the beginning of the year 1553. Soon after his arrival in Paris, he was appointed a regent in the College of Boncourt; and in the year 1555 he was called from that charge by the celebrated Comte de Brissac, who engaged him as the domestic tutor of his son Timoleon de Cossé.

During the five years of his connexion with this illustrious family, he alternately resided in Italy and France. In the meantime several of his poetical works were published at Paris. In 1556 appeared the earliest specimen of his poetical paraphrase of the Psalms; and his version of the *Alcestis* of Euripides was printed in the course of the subsequent year. This tragedy he dedicated to Margaret, the daughter of Francis the First, a munificent princess, whose favour he seems to have enjoyed. His engagement with

the family of Brissac terminated in the year 1560, when the civil war had already commenced. It was perhaps the alarming aspect of affairs in France that induced Buchanan to hasten his return to his own country. The precise period of his return has not been ascertained ; but it is certain that he was at the Scottish court in January 1562, and that in the month of April he was officiating as classical tutor to the queen, who was then in the twentieth year of her age. Every afternoon she read with Buchanan a portion of Livy. This author is not commonly recommended to very young scholars ; and indeed the study of the Latin language is known to have occupied a considerable share of her previous attention.

The era at which Buchanan finally returned to his native country was highly important. After a violent struggle against the ancient superstition, the principles of the reformed faith received the sanction of parliament in the year 1560. For the doctrines of the reformation he had long cherished a secret affection ; and he now professed himself a member of the protestant church of Scotland. The earl of Moray, as commendator of the priory of St Andrews, possessed the right of nominating the principal of St Leonard's College ; and a vacancy occurring in the year 1566, he conferred the office upon Buchanan. The tenure of his appointment seems to have imposed upon him the task of reading occasional lectures on divinity.

On his return to Scotland, he determined to publish, in a correct manner, the poetical works which he had composed at many different periods of his variegated life. Of his admirable version of the Psalms, the date of the first complete edition is uncertain, for it has been omitted in the book itself ; but a second edition appeared in the year 1566. When he consigned his Psalms to the printer, he was probably engaged in superintending the classical studies of Queen Mary ; and to that accomplished and hopeful princess he gratefully inscribed a work destined for im-

mortality. His dedication has received, and indeed is entitled to the highest commendation for its terseness, compression, and delicacy. Buchanan had recommended himself to the queen by other poetical tributes: one of his most beautiful productions is the *Epithalamium* which he composed on her first nuptials; and several of his miscellaneous poems relate to the same princess. Nor was she insensible of his powerful claims upon the protection of his country. In the year 1564 she had rewarded his literary merit by conferring upon him the temporalities of Crossragwell Abbey, which amounted in annual valuation to the sum of L.500 in Scottish currency. The abbacy had become vacant by the death of Quintin Kennedy.

But while he thus enjoyed the favour of the queen, he did not neglect his powerful friend the earl of Moray. To that nobleman he inscribed his *Franciscanus* during the same year. The date of the earliest edition is uncertain; but the dedication was written at St Andrews on the 5th of June 1564, when he was perhaps residing in the earl's house. He at the same time prepared for the press his miscellany entitled *Fratres Fraterrimi*, a collection of satires, almost exclusively directed against the impurities of the popish church. The absurdity of its doctrines, and the immoral lives of its priests, afforded him an ample field for the exercise of his formidable talents; and he has alternately employed the weapons of sarcastic irony and vehement indignation. His admirable wit and address must have contributed to promote the cause which Luther had so ardently espoused; and Buchanan ought also to be classed with the most illustrious of the reformers. In the year 1567 he published another collection, consisting of *Elegiae*, *Silvae*, *Hendecasyllabi*. To this miscellany was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel, a learned man, who is still remembered for his edition of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius. His *Miscellanea* were not printed till after the death of the author. Of his short and miscella-

neous pieces the subjects are sometimes indeed of a trivial nature ; but even those lighter efforts serve to evince the wonderful versatility of his mind. His epigrams, which consist of three books, are not the least remarkable of his compositions ; the terseness of the diction, the ingenuity and pungency of the thoughts, have deservedly placed them in a very high class.

Of the general assembly convened at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1563, Buchanan had sat as a member, and had been appointed one of the commissioners for revising the Book of Discipline. He sat in the June assemblies of 1564 and the three following years, and likewise in that of December 1567. He was a member of various committees, and evidently had no small influence in the affairs of the church. Of the assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June 1567, he had the honour of being chosen moderator.

The nation was now in a state of anarchy, and the change of affairs drew Buchanan into the vortex of politics. The recent conduct of Queen Mary, whom he once regarded in so favourable a light, had offered such flagrant insults to virtue and decorum, that his attachment was at length converted into the strongest antipathy. The simple and uncontroverted history of her proceedings, from the period of her pretended reconciliation with Darnley to that of her marriage with Bothwell, exhibits such strong moral evidence of her criminality as it seems impossible for an unprejudiced mind to resist. " There are indeed," as Mr. Hume has remarked, " three events in our history, which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre of 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices."

Buchanan accompanied the regent Moray when he visit-

ed England for the purpose of appearing before Elizabeth's commissioners. On the 4th of October 1568, the conference was opened at York ; but in the course of the ensuing month it was transferred to Westminster. This singular transaction was managed with great address on both sides : nor was Buchanan the least powerful of Moray's coadjutors ; he composed in Latin a detection of Queen Mary's actions, which was produced to the commissioners at Westminster, and was afterwards circulated with great industry by the English court. His engaging in a task of this kind, as well as his mode of executing it, has frequently been urged as a proof of his moral depravity ; and, to augment his delinquency, the benefits conferred upon him by the unfortunate queen have been multiplied with considerable ingenuity. It is certain that she granted him the temporalities of Crossragwell Abbey ; and beyond this single point the evidence cannot be extended. Nor was this reward bestowed upon a man who had performed no correspondent services. He had officiated as her classical tutor, and had composed various poems for the entertainment of the Scottish court ; but the dedication of his Psalms might almost be considered as equivalent to any reward which she conferred. If Buchanan celebrated her in his poetical capacity, and before she ceased to be an object of praise, it certainly was not incumbent upon him to approve the atrocious actions which she afterwards performed. The duty which he owed to his country was a prior consideration, and with that duty his further adherence to the infatuated princess was utterly incompatible.

The earl of Moray and his associates returned to Scotland in the beginning of the ensuing year. Buchanan's *Detection*, which was not published till 1571, seems to have been entrusted to Dr Wilson, who is supposed by Mr Laing to have added the "*Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*," and the Latin translation of Mary's first three letters to the earl of Bothwell. The good regent did not long survive

those transactions : on the 23d of January 1570 he was shot in the street of Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whom his clemency had formerly rescued from an ignominious death. The assassin had been confirmed in his enterprise by the approbation of his powerful kinsmen. The indignation of Buchanan was naturally roused against the house of Hamilton ; and he had sufficient cause to suspect that their dangerous schemes were not yet completed. Under such impressions as these, he composed "Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis, Mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie ;" in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king, and the children of the late regent, from the perils which seemed to await them. It was apparently in the course of the same year, 1570, that he wrote another Scottish tract, entitled *Chamaeleon*. In this satirical production he very successfully exposes the wavering politics of the famous secretary Maitland.

Soon after the assassination of his illustrious friend, Buchanan was removed to a situation of no small importance ; he was appointed one of the preceptors of the young king. For this preferment he appears to have been indebted to the privy council, and others of the nobility and gentry, who assembled in consequence of that disastrous event, for the purpose of providing for the public security. During his infancy, the prince had been committed to the charge of the earl of Mar, a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity. In 1570, when Buchanan entered upon his office, James was only four years of age. The chief superintendence of his education was left to the earl's brother, Alexander Erskine. The preceptors associated with Buchanan, were Peter Young, and the two abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both related to the noble family of Mar. Young, who was respectable for his capacity and learning, was of a disposition naturally mild ; and his attention to his future interest rendered him cautious of offending a pupil who was soon to be the dispenser of public favours.

But the lofty and independent spirit of Buchanan was not to be controlled by the mere suggestions of cold caution : the honourable task which the voice of his country had assigned to his old age, he discharged with simple integrity, and, so far as he himself was concerned, he was little solicitous what impression the strictness of his discipline might leave on the mind of his royal pupil. James, who was of a timid nature, long remembered the commanding aspect which his illustrious preceptor had assumed. He was accustomed to say of some individual high in office, " that he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his pedagogue." The young monarch's proficiency in letters was such as reflected no discredit on his early instructors. Buchanan made him a scholar, and nature had destined him for a pedant.

Nor was this the only preferment which he now obtained. His first civil appointment, which he seems to have retained but a short time, was that of director of the chancery. The keeper of the privy seal, John, afterwards Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, having been deprived of his office on account of his adherence to the queen, it was conferred upon Buchanan in the year 1570. The earl of Lennox was at that time regent. His situation as lord privy seal was undoubtedly honourable, and probably lucrative. It entitled him to a seat in parliament. This office he retained for several years ; for under the date of November 1579, he is enumerated among the ordinary officers of state entitled to a seat in the council. His talents and his station evidently gave him no small share of influence, and he was associated in various commissions of importance.

Notwithstanding the precarious state of his health, and the number of his avocations, he found leisure to compose a most profound and masterly compendium of political philosophy. An ardent love of freedom was long a characteristic of the Scottish nation. Mair and Boyce had, in their historical productions, vindicated with becoming zeal the

unalienable rights of the people ; but to Buchanan must unquestionably be awarded the high praise of having materially contributed to establish political science on its genuine basis. The southern part of this island had likewise produced political speculators : Sir John Fortescue had endeavoured to trace the line of distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy ; and Sir Thomas More had engrafted his novel theories on the description of an imaginary commonwealth. More afterwards forgot the liberal speculations of his youth : in his *Utopia* he inculcates the doctrine of religious toleration, and yet he lived to assume the odious character of a persecutor. That he was himself a victim of divine retribution, it would be indecent to affirm ;¹ but it is an historical fact that he was wantonly sacrificed by the unrelenting tyrant whom he had served with too much zeal. Another English writer, who flourished at nearly the same period, is better entitled to our present notice. This writer is John Poyntet, successively bishop of Rochester and Winchester, who published a political treatise, in which he anticipated some of the bold speculations of Buchanan and Linguet, relative to the right of resisting and punishing tyrants.²

Buchanan's work, entitled *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was first printed at Edinburgh in the year 1579. Although it professedly relates to the rights of the crown of

¹ Κρίνεις οὐκ ἐπέσκες ἐσθία ἔργα βροτοῖσι.

Βρον. Idyl. vi. v. 9.

² A shorte Treatise of Politike Pouuer, and of the true Obedience which Subiectes owe to Kynges and other ciuile Gouvernours, with an Exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men. Compyled by D. I. P. B. R. W. 1556, 8vo. These initials denote Dr. John Poyntet, bishop of Rochester and afterwards of Winchester. The book is supposed to have been printed at Strasburg, where the author was then living in exile, and where he died before the close of the same year. Of Poyntet or Ponet, an account may be found in Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* p. 508. Lond. 1780, 4to.

Scotland, it comprehends a subtle and eloquent delineation of the general principles of government. The work is exhibited in the form of a dialogue between the author and Thomas the son of Sir Richard Maitland. Buchanan's dialogue excited a degree of attention which will not appear surprising, when we consider the high reputation of the author, and the boldness of the precepts which he inculcates. In the course of a few years, his tenets were formally attacked by his learned countrymen Blackwood, Winzet, and Barclay, all of whom were zealous papists. Some of Barclay's arguments were long afterwards refuted by Locke. Buchanan was also attacked, though in an indirect manner, by Sir Thomas Craig, and by Sir John Wemyss. Craig was a lawyer of much learning and ability, and his treatise on the feudal law still continues to be held in great estimation. Sir George Mackenzie, the servile tool of a most profligate court, undertook to defend against Buchanan the same maxims of polity; and it must be acknowledged that "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," was a very suitable doctrine for the ministers of Charles and James. In the course of the seventeenth century, his leading principles were also oppugned by Sir Lewis Stewart, a lawyer, and by Sir James Turner, a soldier. The former wrote in Latin, the latter in English, but neither of their productions has been printed; and the republic of letters has sustained no detriment by their long suppression. He was incidentally assailed by many foreign authors, who seem in general to have been bewildered by the current doctrine of the divine and indefeasible right of kings, and the passive obedience of subjects. This was indeed the doctrine of papists and protestants, of civilians and divines. Grotius, though born under a free republic, and certainly a man of a great and liberal mind, did not entirely escape the contamination of those slavish maxims which were so prevalent during the age in which he lived: the right of resisting any superior

power which happens to be established, he has discussed in a manner that could not very seriously have offended the completest despot in Europe. There is perhaps too much justice in the remark of Rousseau, that it is his most common method of reasoning, to establish the right by the fact. It is one general fault of those writers, to found their theories on passages of scripture which are not didactic or exegetical, but merely historical. This obsolete perversion they seem to have derived from the authority of those early theologians who are commonly styled the fathers of the church ; and who, if not always very safe guides in morality and in biblical criticism, are certainly exceptionable guides in political science. The degrading doctrine of passive obedience was inculcated by Salmasius, Bochart, Usher, and indeed by several very able men who approached much nearer to our own times ; it was even inculcated by the famous Dr Berkeley, in some metaphysical discourses preached before the university of Dublin in the year 1712. It is however a doctrine which few Britons, possessed of a sound understanding and of ordinary sincerity, will now hesitate a single moment in rejecting with the utmost indignation.

But the full measure of Buchanan's ignominy has not yet been related. In the year 1584 the parliament condemned his dialogue and history as unfit to remain for records of truth to posterity ; and, under a penalty of two hundred pounds, commanded every person who possessed copies to surrender them within forty days, in order that they might be purged of "the offensive and extraordinary matters" which they contained. In 1664, the privy council of Scotland issued a proclamation, prohibiting all subjects, of whatever degree, quality, or rank, from transcribing or circulating any copies of a manuscript translation of the dialogue. And in 1683, the loyal and orthodox university of Oxford doomed to the flames the political works of Buchanan, Milton, Languet, and other dangerous writers. This university, says Cunningham, debauched the minds of the

youth with its slavish doctrines, and pronounced a severe judgment against Buchanan for vindicating the rights of the kingdom. The Scottish legislature, the English university, and the popish tribunal of the inquisition, seem to have viewed this unfortunate speculator with equal abhorrence. And what are the terrible doctrines that once excited so violent an alarm? Buchanan maintains that all political power is derived from the people; that it is more safe to entrust our liberties to the definite protection of the laws, than to the precarious discretion of the king; that the king is bound by those conditions under which the supreme power was originally committed to his hands; that it is lawful to resist, and even to punish tyrants. That all power is originally derived from God, no man of a sound mind will venture to deny; but when we discuss the origin of civil government, we merely refer to those principles of justice and expediency which mankind are taught to recognize in their compacts and associations for their mutual protection and advantage. "The divine right of kings," says Dr Paley, "is like the divine right of other magistrates, the law of the land, or even actual and quiet possession of their office; a right ratified, we humbly presume, by the divine approbation, so long as obedience to their authority appears to be necessary or conducive to the common welfare."¹ When Buchanan speaks of the people as opposed to the king, he evidently includes every individual of the nation except one. And is a race of intelligent beings to be assimilated to a tract of land, or a litter of pigs; to be considered, absolutely and unconditionally, as the lawful patrimony of a family which either merit, accident, or crime, may originally have elevated to the summit of power? In this country and this age it certainly is not necessary to remark, that man can neither inherit nor possess a right of property in his fellow-creatures. What is termed loyalty, may, according to the

¹ Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 160.

circumstances of the case, be either a virtue or a vice. Loyalty to Antoninus and loyalty to Nero must assuredly have flowed from different sources. If the Roman people had endeavoured to compass the death of Nero, would this have been foul and unnatural rebellion? The doctrine of punishing tyrants in their person, either by a private arm, or by the public forms of law, is indeed of a delicate and dangerous nature;¹ and it may be considered as amply sufficient, to ascertain the previous right of forcible resistance. It will always be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a competent tribunal and impartial judges. But if mankind are at length roused to the redress of enormous wrongs, the prince who has either committed or sanctioned an habitual violation of the best rights of the people, will seldom fail to meet with an adequate reward; and in spite of all the slavish theories of his priests and lawyers, mankind will not long be reasoned out of the strongest feelings of their nature. Divine right and passive obedience were never more strenuously inculcated, than in the reign of Charles the First.

In the seventy-fourth year of his age, Buchanan composed a brief sketch of his own life. The last production which he lived to complete was his history of Scotland, *Rerum Scolicarum Historia*. In the year 1582, it issued from the press of Alexander Arbuthnot, printer to the king. It bears the royal privilege, and is dedicated to the young monarch. Between the original formation of his plan, and the publication of the history itself, nearly twenty years must have elapsed: but it is to be supposed that he long revolved the subject in his mind, and had proceeded to amass the greater part of his materials, before he applied himself to its composition; and during that interval, his attention had been distracted by various pursuits, political as well as literary.

¹ See Dr Ferguson's History of the Roman Republic, vol. iii. p. 37, 4to. and Mr Fox's History of James the Second, p. 13.

Buchanan has divided his history into twenty books. The first three ought rather to have been exhibited in the form of an introductory dissertation, for the historical narrative properly commences with the fourth book. His preliminary enquiries are directed to the geographical situation, the nature of the soil and climate, the ancient names and manners, and the primitive inhabitants, of the British islands. The third book consists of a series of quotations from the Greek and Latin authors. The whole of this introductory part displays his usual erudition and sagacity; and, in the opinion of Archbishop Usher, no writer had investigated the antiquities of his country with superior diligence. In these disquisitions he evinces his knowledge of the Celtic as well as of the classical languages. In the earlier part of his narrative, he has reposed too much confidence on his predecessor Boyce. He appeals to several other Scottish historians; and he unquestionably had access to historical documents which are no longer extant. He has occasionally availed himself of the collateral aid of the English and French writers. Of the earlier reigns his sketch is brief and rapid; nor has he attempted to establish any chronological notation till he descends to the beginning of the fifth century. It must indeed be acknowledged that he has repeated the fabulous line of our ancient kings; but that continued till a much later period to be regarded as an article of national faith. Like most of the classical historians, he is too remiss in marking the chronology of the different facts which he relates. From the reign of the great King Robert, his narrative becomes much more copious and interesting; but the history of his own times, which were pregnant with remarkable events, occupies far the largest proportion of his twenty books. In some of the transactions which he records, his own affections and passions were deeply concerned, and might not unreasonably be expected to impart some tincture to his style. His indignation against the ill-fated queen he shared with a very large proportion of his

fellow subjects ; and many of her actions were such as could not fail of exciting the antipathy of every well-regulated mind. The composition of his history betrays no symptoms of the author's old age and infirmities ; his style is not merely distinguished by its correctness and elegance, it breathes all the fervent animation of youthful genius. The noble ideas which so frequently arise in his mind, he always expresses in language of correspondent dignity. His narrative is extremely perspicuous, variegated and interesting ; it is seldom deficient, and never redundant. His moral and political reflections are profound and masterly. He is ready upon all occasions to vindicate the unalienable rights of mankind ; and he uniformly delivers his sentiments with a noble freedom and energy. It is with the utmost propriety that the learned Conring has commended him as a man of exquisite judgment. Thuanus remarks, that although much of his time had been spent in scholastic occupations, yet his history might be supposed the production of a man whose whole life had been exercised in the political transactions of the state ; the felicity of his genius, and the greatness of his mind, having enabled him so completely to remove every impediment incident to an obscure and humble lot. And, in the opinion of Bishop Burnet, "his stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."

The publication of this great work he did not long survive. In the month of September 1581, some of his learned friends, namely, Andrew Melville, James Melville, and his own nephew Thomas Buchanan, provost of the collegiate church of Kirkhill, having heard that the history was in the press, and the author indisposed, hastened to Edinburgh to pay him a visit. On entering his apartment, they found him employed in the humble though benevolent task of teaching the hornbook to a young man in his service. "I perceive, Sir," said the elder Melville, "you are not idle."

"Better this," replied Buchanan, "than stealing sheep, or sitting idle, which is as bad." He afterwards shewed them his dedication to the young king; and Melville having perused it, remarked that it seemed in some passages obscure, and required certain words to complete the sense. "I can do nothing more," said Buchanan, "for thinking of another matter." "What is that?" rejoined Melville. "To die. But I leave that and many other things to your care." These visitors afterwards proceeded to Arbuthnot's printing-office, to inspect a work which had excited such high expectation. They found the impression had advanced as far as the passage relative to the interment of David Rizzio; and being alarmed at the unguarded boldness with which the historian had there expressed himself, they requested the printer to suspend his labour. Having returned to Buchanan's house, they found him in bed. In answer to their friendly enquiries, he informed them that he was "even going the way of welfare." His kinsmen then proceeded to mention their fears respecting the consequence of publishing so unpalatable a statement, and to suggest the probability of its inducing the king to prohibit the entire work. "Tell me, man," said Buchanan, "if I have told the truth." "Yes, Sir," replied his nephew, "I think so." "Then," rejoined the dying historian, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's. Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all." "So," subjoins the original narrative, "by the printing of his chronicle was ended, that most learned, wise, and godly man ended this mortal life."*

This statement furnishes us with a complete refutation of a story told by Camden, that, upon the approach of death, Buchanan testified the utmost compunction for having wielded his pen against Queen Mary. The story could indeed have been exploded without the aid of such a document. Thuanus informs us that a short time before his

* Diary of James Melville, p. 86. Edinb. 1829, 4to.

death, Buchanan was required by his royal pupil to retract what he had written with so much freedom respecting the queen his mother, and to leave to posterity some formal testimony of his compunction. He at first returned an evasive answer ; but being afterwards importuned by repeated messages, he made this final declaration ; that he could not recall what he had written in the firm conviction of its truth, but that after his decease, it would be in the king's power to adopt such measures with regard to his writings as he might judge expedient. He however admonished him to proceed with mature deliberation, and to reflect that, although God had entrusted supreme power to kings, yet that truth, which derives its strength from God, is as superior to their control, as God is superior to man.

His usual vein of pleasantry did not entirely desert him on his death-bed. When visited by John Davidson, a distinguished clergyman, he devoutly expressed his reliance on the atoning blood of Christ ; but he could not refrain from introducing some facetious reflections on the absurdities of the mass. He expired soon after five o'clock in the morning of Friday the 28th of September 1582, at the age of seventy-six years and nearly eight months. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the Greyfriars : Calderwood informs us that the funeral took place on Saturday, and was attended by "a great company of the faithful."

Buchanan had experienced many of the vicissitudes of human life, and had been tried by prosperity as well as adversity. His moral and intellectual character procured him the same high respect from the most enlightened of his contemporaries. His stern integrity, his love of his country and of mankind, cannot fail of endearing his memory to those who possess congenial qualities ; and such errors as he actually committed, will not perhaps be deemed unpardonable by those who recollect the condition of humanity. He was subject to the nice and irritable feelings which frequently attend exalted genius, enthusiastic in his

attachment, and violent in his resentment, equally sincere in his love and in his hatred. His friends, among whom he numbered some of the most distinguished characters of the age, regarded him with a warmth of affection which intellectual eminence cannot alone secure. His conversation was alternately facetious and instructive; his wit and humour are still proverbial among his countrymen. Such of his contemporaries as could best judge of his conduct and character, evidently regarded him as a man of sincere piety.

Nor was the genius of Buchanan less variegated than his life. In his numerous writings, he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents, which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant, he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound: Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose opinion is entitled to the greatest deference, has characterized him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature; and even to excel in one, demands the happy perseverance of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of securing a reputation by his poetry; the poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are sometimes represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence: in philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has scarcely been surpassed either in ancient or modern times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him in their several provinces; but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language which they had learned from their mothers;

but its acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity, the elegance, and freedom of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity, and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his own ideas, and of the language in which he writes. The variety of his poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties, nor is it chequered by phraseology unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the spirit of antiquity, without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit; they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence, of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to foment the genial flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had nobly soared beyond the narrow limits of his age.

Of the works of Buchanan there are two collective editions, the earlier of which was published by Ruddiman. Edinb. 1715, 2 tom. fol. The editor's masterly acquaintance with philology, and with the history of his native country, had eminently qualified him for such an undertaking. The accuracy of the text, and the utility of his illustrations, are equally conspicuous. He has prefixed a

copious and satisfactory preface, and, among other appendages, has added a curious and critical dissertation "*De Metris Buchananaeis*." His annotations on Buchanan's history are particularly elaborate and valuable; but it is to be lamented that his narrow politics should so frequently have diverted him from the more useful tracts of enquiry. Where political prejudices intervene, he is too eager to contradict his author; and he often attempts, by very slender and incompetent proofs, to extenuate the authenticity of his narrative. In illustrating the moral and literary character of Buchanan, he spent many years of his life. With great zeal and success, he afterwards vindicated his paraphrase of the Psalms against the objections of Benson; but his political prejudices seem to have increased with the number of his years. His controversies with Love and Man were conducted with sufficient pertinacity; though it must be acknowledged that the advantage of learning, and even of candour, generally inclines to Ruddiman's side. Another edition of Buchanan's works was published by Burman, a most indefatigable and useful labourer in the department of philology, and a man of much more taste and talent than some readers may perhaps be inclined to suppose. Lugd. Bat. 1725, 2 tom. 4to. The tendency of Ruddiman's preface and annotations was so far from being satisfactory to the admirers of Buchanan, that a Whig association had been formed at Edinburgh, for the purpose of vindicating their favourite author in a new edition of his works. Their efforts however proved abortive, and the task of editorship devolved into more able hands. Arrested by the frequent and wide variation between the author and editor, Burman had nearly been induced to relinquish his undertaking, and to advise his printer Langerak to procure assistance from Scotland, where the authenticity of the facts could best be ascertained. Of the new edition projected at Edinburgh he was likewise apprized; though it does not appear, as some writers aver, that the associated

critics made him a voluntary offer of private assistance. The printer however urging him to proceed without waiting for this vindictory edition, he at length republished the works of Buchanan, together with Ruddiman's preface, notes, dissertation, and other appendages. The annotations which he himself interspersed, are almost entirely critical or philological.¹

¹ For a more ample account of our illustrious countryman, I beg leave to refer the reader to the second edition of *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*. Edinb. 1817, 8vo. Hänel mentions a MS. belonging to a bookseller of Sens, and entitled *Bella scelerata Caledoniæ Tyranni*; "poème épique en vers Latins, et en trois livres, sur les guerres de France du tems de Charles VI. et Charles VII. La pucelle y est célébrée dans le II. livre. On croit que ce poème a été écrit par Buchanan, lorsqu'il étoit à Paris, chez le Maréchal de Brissac." (*Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum*, c. 440. Lipsiæ, 1830, 4to.) No such poem is mentioned by Buchanan himself, or by any of his biographers; and it must apparently have been ascribed to him on mere conjecture.

NINIAN WINZET.

THE name of Winzet was conspicuous in the progress of those religious controversies which attended the Scottish reformation ; and, according to the estimate of his own party, he rendered himself formidable by the strength of his talents, and the extent of his theological learning. He at least appears to have been one of the most learned and respectable of the popish ecclesiastics who lived to witness the downfall of the church.

Ninian Winzet, as we compute from his epitaph, was born in the year 1518, and he has repeatedly stated that he was born in Renfrew. Dempster has described him as *Glasguensis* ;¹ and Mackenzie, apparently on no better foundation, avers that he was educated in the university of Glasgow.² As the ancient borough of Renfrew is not more

¹ Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 659.

² Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. iii. p. 148. Edinb. 1708-22, 3 vols. fol. George Mackenzie, M.D., who wrote the *Lives* of so many Scottish authors, has not himself found a biographer. Under the date of March 1726, Wodrow has recorded the following particulars of his history. "I find Dr. Mackenzie, the writer of our *Lives*, is dead. My Lord Grange informs me he was a relation of his, had Oxford education, and was a great pretender to things he understood not : as a physician, he knew nothing of his own business. His brother, the earl of Marr, employed him to give him a little money, but found

than six miles distant, the statement is sufficiently probable in itself; but in the records of that university it has been ascertained that the name of Winzet is not to be found. Whatever may have been his scholastic training, he had himself been so well taught, that he was considered as qualified to teach others. From his own works we collect the information that he was appointed master of Linlithgow school about the year 1551, and that he there spent "about ten years of his most flourishing age." Of his previous avocations we discover no trace, although at the time of his appointment he had completed his thirty-second year. Linlithgow was then a flourishing town, and partly derived its importance from the royal palace, of which the magnificent ruins still adorn the margin of the lake.¹ Within these princely towers James the Fifth and his unfortunate daughter first beheld the light.

Of all the palaces so fair,
Built for the royal dwelling,
In Scotland, far beyond compare
Linlithgow is excelling :

him not to be trusted to. He was a crony of Dr. Pitcairn's, and drunk with him. The doctor at first commended his *Lives* to every body, but when he had read some of them, he declared they were not worth a button." (Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. p. 69.) In 1705 he was appointed physician to Heriot's Hospital, but in 1711 the governors, "after some debates, without acquainting Dr. Mackenzie, or laying any malversation to his charge, declared his place void, and immediately install'd Dr. Rule, a presbyterian minister, in his place." He was an episcopalian and a Jacobite. For his appointment he was indebted to Dr. Pitcairne's father-in-law, Sir Archibald Stevenson, his immediate predecessor, who had offered to cancel a claim against the Hospital for L.200 sterling, provided the governors would confer the office on Mackenzie. This statement I find in a printed paper, consisting of sixteen pages in quarto, without a title and without a date, but evidently written by Mackenzie himself.

¹ See Dr. Jamieson's *Royal Palaces of Scotland*, p. 39. Edinb. 1830, 4to.

And in its park in jovial June,
 How sweet the merry linnet's tune,
 How blythe the blackbird's lay !
 The wild duck bells from ferny brake,
 The coot dives merry on the lake ;
 The saddest heart might pleasure take
 To see a scene so gay.¹

The learned master of Linlithgow school seems to have been much attached to "that his kindly town." After he had entered into holy orders, and was anxious to enlarge his stock of theological knowledge, he began to regret that so large a portion of his time was devoted to the daily labours of his office. He was however pleased to reflect that to his tuition were committed boys of promising talents, who, according to his modest estimate, were more able to learn than he to teach. He states it to have been his almost daily practice to propose themes, on which his scholars were expected to prepare orations or epistles in the Latin language. Like all able and zealous schoolmasters, Winzet estimated very highly the importance of his own vocation. "Reuolue-and in mynd," he remarks, "yat maist flurissand part of my aige, spent in ye teching of ye grammar scule of Linlycht-quow, about the space of ten zeris, I iugeit the teching of the zouthed in vertew and science, nixt efter ye auctoritie with the ministeris of iustice, vnder it and efter ye angilicall office of godlie pastours, to obtene the thrid principal place maist commodious and necessare to the kirk of God. Ze, sa necessar thoct I it, that the dewe charge and office off the prince and prelate withoute it, is to thaim, efter my iugement, wonderous pynefull and almaist insupportable, and zit lytle commodius to ye commoun welth, till vnfenzit obedience and trew godlines, quhen the peple is ruid and ignorant ; and contrarie, be the help of it to the zouthed, the office of all potestatis is lycht to thaim, and plesand to the subiectis."²

¹ Scott's *Marmion*, canto iv. st. 15.

² Winzet's *Tractatis*, p. 25. Edinb. 1835, 4to.

From this sphere of useful labour he was at length removed by the protestants, who could not safely leave the grammar schools to the charge of popish masters. It was apparently in the course of the year 1561 that he was cited to appear before the superintendent of Lothian, John Spotswood, the father of the archbishop. On the 9th of March during that year, this individual, who was then parson of Calder, had been appointed superintendent of a district reaching from Stirling to Dunbar.¹ After several conferences, Winzet persisted in the avowal of those opinions which he had formerly professed; and being unable to renounce his creed, he submitted to the alternative of being deposed from an office which, there is reason to believe, he had discharged with fidelity and credit.² Of his feelings on this occasion, a passage in the preface to his *Buke of Questions* will enable us to form some judgment. "At ye command of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, precheour in Linlythgow, and of his superintendent, gentil reidar, quhen I, for denying only to subscriue yair phantasie and factioun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of yat my kyndly toun, and fra my tender freindis yair, quhais perpetuall kyndnes I hoipit yat I had conquest, be ye spending about ten zeris of my maist flurissing aige, nocht without manifest vtilitie of yair commoun welth, and be all apperance had obtenit sic fauour of yame, as ony sik man nicht haif of ony communitie; I thocht I had na cause to be eschameit, bot to reiose and glorifie my God (according to S. Petiris reull) for yat I sufferit nocht as a wickit persoun, or an ewill doar, bot as an wnfenzeit and faithfull Christiane: for ye tyme is now (as ye samin apostill writtis) yat ye terribill iugement to cum, in a manere in yis lyfe beginnis at ye housse of God, yat is, at ye faithfull catholikis, yat first for yair awin sinnis, and syne for ye trewthis saik, yai suffer in yis lyfe with Christe yair heid, yat be diuers

¹ *Diurnal of remarkable Occurrents*, p. 64. Edinb. 1833, 4to. *Wodrow's Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. p. 74.

² *Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 183.

tribulis yai mot eonter with him in ye lyfe eternall. Nocht-yeles I began nocht litill to merwel at sa haisty and sa subdane a wolter of yis warlde, in sa mony grete materis, and specialie of ye subdane change of sum cunning clerkis, of ye silence and fleitnes of wtheris, and of ye maist arrogant presumptioun approwin specialie in ye ignorant; and amangis wtheris strange mutationis, quhow micht it be yat ane Kinloquhy culd be king in Linlythqow, and specialie sik a king as appropriat to him self mair large empyre and power in yis caice, yan euir did faithfull king or empiror in Christianitie."

The popish church of Scotland, which had been upheld by the iron hand of temporal power, was but feebly defended by the legitimate weapons of controversy. Winzet proved the most redoubtable of its literary champions. Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossragwell, had ventured to enter the lists with Knox, and had previously endeavoured to establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters of faith and religion. At a more recent period, James Tyrie, a Jesuit, likewise maintained a controversy with the great reformer; and some other popish works, chiefly remarkable for an atrocious style of invective, appeared before the close of the century.

Winzet, who was then in priest's orders, began his labours, by preparing three different tracts for the reformation of doctrine and manners.¹ The first of these is in the form of an exhortation to the queen, to the bishops and inferiour clergy, and to the nobility. This paper, which was delivered to the queen on the 15th of February 1562, conveys a request for permission to propose in writing, to the protestant preachers, certain articles touching doctrine, order, and manners. In the second tract we find three questions re-

¹ Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, set furth at the desyre and in ye name of ye afflictit Catholikus, of inferiour ordour of Clergie, and layit men in Scotland, be Niniane Winzet, ane Catholike Preist, borne in Renfrew. Quhilkis be name this leaf turnit sall schaw. Edinburgi, 21 Maij, 1562, 4to.

lative to the lawful vocation of the ministers, together with three letters addressed to Knox ; who had discussed some of his arguments in the pulpit, and who afterwards announced his intention of publishing a formal answer, which however did not make its appearance. These letters are dated at Edinburgh, where he probably had fixed his residence after his ejection. According to some writers, he had maintained a public disputation with Knox at Linlithgow ;¹ but his own works contain no allusion to an occurrence which he would doubtless have thought worthy of commemoration. The third tract consists of what the author entitles a Declamation, addressed to the provost and town council of Edinburgh, and strenuously recommending the observance of certain popish festivals. Soon after the publication of these tracts, he sent to the press his *Last Blast of the Trompet*, in which he continues to discuss the vocation of the protestant preachers ; nor was it difficult for him to prove, on his own principles, that Knox and his brethren had no lawful calling to minister in the word and sacraments ; that they had no vocation according to any rules recognized by the canon law, and sanctioned by the authority of his holiness the pope. It is however to be regretted that he was denied the privilege of maintaining his own opinions ; for the protestants, who had so recently renounced the communion of the popish church, did not speedily renounce its foul spirit of persecution. In this respect, they were almost all in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. When his work was known to be in the press, a magistrate and several attendants paid a visit to the printing-office, and seized all the copies that could be found. As the first five leaves of a single copy are the only reliques of the impression that are known to exist, this attempt to suppress it appears to have been effectual.² The printer,

¹ Conaesus de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 135.

² The last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde aganis the vsurpit Auctoritie of Iohne Knox, and his Caluiniane brether, intrudit

John Scott, was fined and imprisoned. Winzet was in the act of leaving the office when the magistrate made his appearance ; but not being recognized, he had the good fortune to escape this impending danger of being taken into custody.¹

As he could no longer remain in his own country with comfort or even with safety, he crossed the sea, and arrived in Flanders. His controversial ardour was naturally augmented by the persecution to which he had thus been subjected ; and in the course of the following year he published a work which had in a great measure been prepared before his emigration, namely, his *Buke of four scoir thre Questions tueching Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris*.² The epistle to the reader, which extends to a considerable length, is dated at Louvain on the 7th of October 1563 ; but the volume concludes with an epistle to John Knox, dated at Antwerp on the 27th of the same month and year. Before the close of that year he aimed another blow at heresy, by publishing in his native language a translation of the work of Vincentius Lirinensis, "*Adversus profanas Hæresen Novationes libellus vere aureus*."³ This ancient author who

Precheouris, &c. Put furth to the Congregatioun of the Protestantis in Scotlande, be Niniane Winzet, ane Catholik Preist, borne in Renfrew : at the desyre and in the name of his afflictit Catholike brether of ye inferiour ordoure of Clergie, and laic men. Edinburgi, vltimo Iulij, 1562, 4to. This curious relique is preserved in the University Library.

¹ Leslaeus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 584.

² The *Buke of four scoir thre Questions, tueching Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris*, proponit to ye Precheouris of ye Protestants in Scotland, be ye Catholiks of ye inferiour Ordour of Clergie and layt men yair, cruelie afflictit and dispersit, be persuasioun of ye saidis intrusit Precheours. Set furth be Ninian Winzet, a Catholik Preist, at ye desyre of his faithfull afflictit brethir, and deliuerit to Iohn Knox ye xx of Februar or yairby, in the zere of the blessit Birth of our Saluioir 1563 [read 1562]. Antverpiae, ex officina Ægidij Diest, M. D. LXIIJ. XIIJ. Octob. Cum gratia et priuilegio. 8vo.

³ Vincentivs Lirinensis, of the natioun of Gallis, for the Antiquitie

was infected with the semi-Pelagian heresy, wrote in the year 434.¹ His work had been repeatedly exhibited in an English dress. It continues to be a special favourite with certain nominal protestants, who still loitering within the vestibule of popery, exalt the authority of the fathers, and eagerly cling to such traditions of the church as countenance their own unscriptural and superstitious notions. A ready acquiescence in these notions is what they consider as "loyalty to the holy apostolic church." To the Scottish version is prefixed a long dedication to the queen, dated at Antwerp on the 2d of December. In the following passage, he apparently alludes to one of his own labours: "Reid, for yis quaestioun, ye sext buik of Optat, putt in Scotis, with wtheris tractatis for yis purpose." Optatus, bishop of Milevis in Numidia, who flourished about the year 368, wrote seven books against the schism of the Donatists; and his animadversions on the ancient were doubtless thought to be of easy application to the modern heretics.² It would

and Veritie of the Catholik Fayth, aganis ye prophane Nouationis of all Haereseis: a richt goldin Buke, writtin in Latin about XI. C. zeris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Preist. Antverpiae, ex officina Ægidij Diest. 1 Decemb. 1563. Cum gratia et priuilegio. 8vo.—All the publications of Winzet hitherto enumerated have lately been reprinted in one volume, under the title of "Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris in Scotland. Be Ninian Winzet." Edinb. 1836, 4to. It was a contribution from John Black Gracie, Esq. to the Maitland Club. A valuable life of the author is prefixed to this very curious volume.

¹ Cave, *Historia Literaria*, vol. i. p. 425. An elaborate account of Vincentius Lirinensis may be found in Cardinal Noris's *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. ii. cap. xi. Opera, tom. i. c. 386.

² The work of Optatus, with the ample apparatus to be found in the edition of Du Pin, supplies valuable materials for the history of the Donatists. (Sancti Optati Afri, Milevitani Episcopi, de Schismate Donatistarum libri septem. Paris. 1700, fol.) "Stylus autem Optati," says Oelrichs, "ut plerorumque Afrorum, nec nitorem habet nec elegantiam; ut vehemens et pressus, ita non raro est admodum

however appear that the sixth book only was translated. The translator elsewhere makes a similar reference to another work: "Quha pleiss to reid Tertulliane *de Præscript. advers. Heret.* newlie putt in Scottis, quha wrait about xiiij. C. zeris passit, sall knaw quha is now a catholik, and qua is an haeretik."¹ It is not altogether certain that his versions of Tertullian and Optatus were ever committed to the press. These however were not his only labours as a translator: of the discourse of René Benoist concerning the composing of discords in religion, his version was printed at Paris in 1565.²

In the course of this year he is said to have transferred his residence from Flanders to France. It is also stated by Dr Mackenzie that he now took the degree of A. M. at Paris, and that he was thrice elected one of the procurators in that university. For this statement he quotes no authority, and it is therefore to be received with caution. At the

obscurus." (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Ecclesiae Latinae*, p. 71. Lipsiae, 1791, 8vo.) See likewise Oudini *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiae Antiquae*, tom. i. c. 580. Lipsiae, 1722, 3 tom. fol.

¹ Winzet's *Tractatis*, p. 67-8.

² A Translation of a Discourse of Renatus Benedictus, concerning composing Discords in Religion. Paris, 1565 in 8vo. (Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. iii. p. 156.) This work I have never seen. "The author, René Benoist, was in the train of Mary queen of Scots, when she arrived from France in August 1561; and he remained in Scotland for two years, in the capacity of preacher and father confessor to the queen. An epistle to Knox and the rest of his brethren, written by him while at Holyrood, in December 1561, was translated from the Latin 'by ane certane Frier,' but whose name is not mentioned by David Fergusson, the first protestant minister of Dunfermline in his answer to it, April 1562, which was printed at Edinburgh in May 1563." (*Life of Ninian Winzet*, p. xviii. prefixed to his *Tractatis*.) The title of the work translated by Winzet is, *Necessarius atque certus Modus tollendae Religionis Discordiae*. Paris. 1562, 8vo. Of Benoist, whose works are very numerous, an account may be found in *Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xli. p. 1.

supposed period of taking his degree, Winzet must have attained the age of forty-seven. According to Dempster, he taught at Paris in the year 1569; and other writers have improved this account, by averring that he there taught philosophy with great applause. He is likewise said to have visited Italy; but he at length found a calm and dignified retreat in Germany, where he closed a long and somewhat variegated life. In the year 1576, when he had reached the age of fifty-eight, the pope nominated him abbot of St James's at Ratisbon. This was a Scottish monastery of the Benedictine order, and the abbacy had become vacant by the death of Thomas Anderson. According to a probable conjecture, his successor had been recommended by Bishop Lesley to the reigning pontiff, Gregory the Thirteenth.¹ During a subsequent mission to the catholic princes of the empire, the bishop was instructed to use his best endeavours for securing the property and immunities of the Scottish monasteries, established within their territories; and, to this effect, he obtained from the emperor Rodolph the Second

¹ Robert Turner, professor of eloquence in the university of Ingolstadt, writes thus to Erasmus Vendius, a counsellor of the duke of Bavaria: "*Nam mecum Scotis habere Vendium patronum (ut universim dicam, nam singula non vult tua modestia audire) summum pene est: quantae autem clementiae fueris tu patronus, loquebantur tuae literae, quas legi ad reverendissimum Rossensem, humanitatis ac suavitatis notis insignes; quam grati vicissim animi clientes fuerint Scoti (ut taceam Ninianum, ac reliquos) testis est abunde Rossensis, qui cum ignoti in ignotum singularem pietatem voluerit depingere, solebat illud usurpare, Vendius est. Pergas ergo esse Scotis meis Vendius, id est, gratissimis munificus.*" (Epistolae, p. 5. Col. Agrip. 1615, 8vo.) The letter containing this passage is dated at Rome in 1580. Bishop Lesley is frequently mentioned in Turner's correspondence. Five of his letters are addressed to Winzet. One of them is addressed to two brothers, John and James Winzet, the abbot's nephews, who were pursuing their studies in Germany. Turner's grandfather was a native of Scotland, but he was himself born in Devonshire.

an edict dated on the eighth of October 1578. To his more substantial promotion Winzet added the degree of D. D. Whether he had taken it at Paris or some other university, or whether it had been conferred by the pope, we are not informed. He has been highly commended for the fidelity with which he governed his abbey. He not only restored the buildings which had been dilapidated, and otherwise improved the temporalities of the foundation, but likewise endeavoured to increase the strictness of the monastic discipline, which we may easily suppose to have required his correcting hand. Although the worthy abbot did not relish the protestant mode of reformation, it is evident from his writings that he was deeply impressed with the necessity of some reformation in the church.

In the midst of these monastic cares, he did not abate his literary ardour ; and his most elaborate works were produced after he was placed at the head of this monastery. These works are two in number, both written in the Latin language, and both dedicated to the duke of Bavaria.¹ One of them, which he entitles the Scourge of Sectaries, is a further continuation of his exposure of the manifold evils arising from heresy and schism. The abbot was confessedly an able champion of his own church ; but to refute or even to recapitulate his leading arguments, would not much tend to the edification of the protestant reader. It is not however altogether superfluous to remark, that a presumptuous and uncharitable imputation of heresy and schism is by no means peculiar to those who maintain the infallibility of a

¹ *Flagellum Sectariorum, qui Religionis praetextu Seditiones jam in Caesarem, aut in alios orthodoxos Principes excitare student ; quaerentes, ineptissime quidem, Deone magis an Principibus sit obediendum ? Accessit Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum, circa Dialogum quem scripsit de Jure Regni apud Scotos. Niniano Winzeto Renfroo, S. Theologiae Doctore, et ad Sancti Jacobi apud Scotos Ratisponae Abbate, autore. Ingolstadii, ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, anno M.D.LXXXII. 4to.*

certain church. Some members of the protestant communion have manifested a better temper of mind. Thus, according to Hales, "heresy is an act of the will, not of reason, and is indeed a lie, not a mistake."¹ And according to Bishop Taylor, "heresy is not an error of the understanding, but an error of the will.---If this error be not voluntary, and part of an ill life, then because he lives a good life, he is a good man, and therefore no heretick: no man is an heretick against his will."² Bishop Burnet has adopted the same opinion: "All the room that was left for good nature, was the favourable definition that was given of heresy; by which obstinacy was made its peculiar character, that distinguished it from error, which lies in a more innocent mistake concerning divine matters: and, as many have explained this obstinacy, it amounts to a continuing in error after one is convinced of it. This notion of heresy, which has been received by many of the greatest men even in the church of Rome it self, seems to agree well with that of St Paul's ranking heresy with the works of the flesh."³—"That alone," says Dr Campbell, "is schism, in the sense of holy writ, which wounds charity, and which, in order to unite Christians more closely to a sect or faction, alienates their hearts from one another, and consequently from the interest of their common Master; or which detaches them in respect of love, even though outward unity should not

¹ Works of John Hales, vol. i. p. 125. This scriptural notion of heresy was ably illustrated by Dr Foster, in his controversy with Dr Stebbing. "Haeretici sunt," says Salvianus, "sed non scientes: denique apud nos sunt haeretici, apud se non sunt; nam in tantum se catholicos esse judicant, ut nos ipsos titulo haereticae pravitatis infament." (De Gubernatione Dei, p. 100. edit. Baluzii.)

² Taylor's Liberty of Propheying, p. 31-8. 2d edit. Lond. 1702, 8vo.

³ Burnet's preface to Lactantius's Relation of the Death of the primitive Persecutors. Amst. 1687, 12mo.

be violated, from the whole community of Christians, in order to attach them more firmly to a part."¹

To this specimen of his theological learning and zeal, Winzet added a political treatise, intended as an answer to the famous work of Buchanan, then recently published, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*." An abbot of that age may easily be supposed to have viewed political topics through the hazy medium of his scholastic theology; and accordingly, while he maintains the sacred and inviolable rights of kings, the sanctity and power of the church are neither overlooked nor disregarded. His *Velitatio* is however no despicable performance. It is repeatedly mentioned in very favourable terms by Barclay, who afterwards laboured in the same province;² and, in the opinion of Nicolson, the author "shew'd himself as great a master of the imperial law, as of critical learning."³ He does not altogether dissemble his respect for the literary character of his antagonist. With his brother Patrick Buchanan, whom he commends for his modesty and cultivation of mind, he professes to have been intimately acquainted. Buchanan him-

¹ Campbell's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 106.

² "*Quorum calumniam religioni et reip. exitiosam, cum alii, tum duo sacrae theologiae doctores eximii detexere, Cunerus episcopus Leovardiensis, et Winzetus abbas S. Jacobi Ratisponae; atque arcere procul Christianis finibus conati sunt libris laudatissimis, et omnium orthodoxorum calculo approbatis, in eam rem editis.*" (*Barclaius de Regno et Regali Potestate*, p. 182. Paris. 1600, 4to.) Having quoted several pages from Winzet, he subjoins this character of the author: "*Donec spiritum commune duxit, multos vitae integritate et pietate anteibat, a paucis etiam doctrinae studio, et sacrarum literarum cognitione, atque rerum experientia superabatur.*" David Chalmers mentions him in the following terms: "*Ninianus Winzetus, vir in humanioribus literis, nec non in philosophicis et theologicis studiis egregie versatus.*" (*Camerarius de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate*, p. 45. Paris. 1631, 4to.)

³ Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 40. Lond. 1702, 8vo.

self he had only seen on one occasion, within the precincts of the palace of Holyrood, and while engaged in a theological discussion with John Robertson, treasurer of the cathedral of Ross. Robertson had embraced the opinions of the reformers, and being anxious to make a convert of his friend, was endeavouring to expose the monstrous figment of transubstantiation: as Buchanan was then passing, he made an appeal to his judgment respecting this point of controversy; and Winzet fairly admits that his air and address were sufficiently modest.¹

The publication of these two works he survived for the space of ten years. He died on the 21st of September 1592, after having attained the age of seventy-four. A monument which was erected to his memory, recorded his exemplary life and pious death.²

Winzet may safely be commended as a man of talents, duly cultivated by the scholastic learning of the age. This commendation he has more particularly merited by his *La-*

¹ "Interessit etiam mihi cum Patritio fratre tuo, viro, ut humanis disciplinis, ita et modestia atque humanitate satis perspicuo, non ingrata neque omnino inutilis, opinor, ipsi consuetudo. Te ipsum praesenti colloquio nunquam nisi semel sum affatus. Id contigit in regio palatio, ut meministi, nisi fallor, Edinburgi ad Sanctae Crucis ante annos 20. quo tempore vir mei quidem, secundum hominem, satis studiosus, Joan. Robertsonus, thesaurarius Rossen. serio mecum agere coepit, ut ad novas factiones me secum pertraheret; cumque incalesceret mecum disputando, videns te forte fortuna praetereuntem, statim, ut vel sibi iudex vel patronus ipse adesses, accersivit; qui cum statum nostrae causae, et argumenta utrinque allata, atque me tandem acrius adversario insultantem, quod suae potius aut novatorum quorundam opinioni, quam veteris ecclesiae iudicio, maxime in re tanta (erat enim sermo de sancta eucharistia) esset addictus, advertisses, ipse tandem sermonem ingessisti, vultu sane et voce satis modesta." (Winzeti Velitatio in Buchananum, p. 156.)

² Descriptio Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonae, auctore Bonifacio Strachano Scoto, p. 97. MS. in Adv. Bib. The monastic history of Winzet is entirely derived from this unpublished work.

tin works ; but our curiosity is chiefly excited and gratified by his Scottish tracts, which are not only valuable as an ample specimen of his native language, but likewise as an authentic record of the ecclesiastical history of that eventful period. The author was solicitous to express himself in the plain old Scottish which he had learned from his mother ; and he intimates that Knox, from his love of innovation, was too partial to the dialect of the south.¹ His sincerity and zeal for what he regarded as the truth, are sufficiently manifested in the boldness of his animadversions on the corrupt state of his own church. The simony, luxury, sloth, and dissoluteness of the prelates, are mentioned in the most unequivocal terms. While he cannot conceal the scandalous lives of churchmen, he acquits himself as a strenuous defender of the church's doctrine and discipline ; nor is it uninteresting to examine his mode of discussing the leading topics of the great controversy which was then agitated. One paramount topic, as we have already seen, is the defective vocation of the ministers. To this subject he reverts in the *Flagellum Sectariorum*, where he has allotted to it an extent of more than forty pages. In support of their vocation, the reformers certainly did not appeal to the evidence of miracles, nor did they pretend to be clothed with the attributes of priests, whether derived from episcopal ordination or any other origin. Where there are no supernatural gifts, they were decidedly of opinion that none can be communicated.²

According to the scriptures, no man takes upon himself

¹ " Gif ze, throw curiositie of nouationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quhillk zour mother lerit zou, in tymes cuming I sall wryte to you my mynd in Latin ; for I am nocht acqyntit with zour Southeroun." (Winzet's *Tractatis*, p. 118.)

² " *Impositis manibus ministros creare,*" says Bishop Bilson, "*non hoc solum continet ut potestas illis fiat verbum et sacramenta dispensandi, sed etiam ut impartiatur Spiritus Sancti gratia, quae utramque partem muneris sanctam faciat et fructuosam. Haec nisi*

the honour of a high priest, "but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." The notion of a priest is necessarily connected with that of sacrifice. The continued sacrifices, under the ancient dispensation, were a prefiguration of that great sacrifice which in the fulness of time was to be offered once for all. The priests, by their daily ministering, could never take away sin; but by one offering our great high priest "hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." Sacrifice and offerings for sin were manifestly abolished with other portions of "the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things." But in process of time a direful fabric of superstition was reared in the Christian church; and although it could not be denied that the blood of bulls and of goats was no longer to be shed, a mystical or invisible sacrifice was extolled to the deluded people as the great instrument of their salvation. The sacrifice of the mass, they were taught to believe, was available to the living and to the dead.¹ As a sacrifice requires a priest, so a priest can only receive the gift of the Holy Ghost from the bishop, and this gift must be transmitted from one bishop to another, but not without the apostolic benediction of the legitimate successor of St Peter; this legitimate successor having, in a great variety of instances, been placed in the apostle's chair by exerting

qui prius acceperat, nemo donare potest." (De perpetua Ecclesiae Christi Gubernatione, p. 156. Lond. 1611, 4to.) This is precisely the point where we are willing to join issue. We aver that the bishops, as such, have not themselves received, and are therefore incapable of communicating to others, the gift of the Holy Ghost. Such extraordinary pretensions can only be supported by an unequivocal demonstration of extraordinary power. The objection of Cartwright and Travers is not easily to be surmounted: "The Holy Ghost you cannot give, and therefore you foolishly bid men receive it."

¹ Any protestant who wishes to see the mass made easy, may consult *Hierurgica*; or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with notes and dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies. By Daniel Rock, D.D. Lond. 1833, 2 vols. 8vo.

all the vilest arts that belong to the most unprincipled ambition.¹ The ministers of the Scottish reformation renounced all claim to the title and character of priests; and their successors in the church make no pretensions to the power of working miracles, either visible or invisible. Knox himself was in priest's orders; but as he did not pretend to have derived living water from a polluted fountain, he did not retain any popish prepossessions as to the validity of his ordination. He and his fellow-labourers merely considered themselves as ministers or servants of the word of God; and being called to their ministration by the voice of the people, they must have been very little moved by the pertinacious objections of Dr Winzet to the lawfulness of their vocation as Christian pastors.

It would have been highly conducive to the consistency as well as the purity of another church, if its members had uniformly exercised the same sobriety of judgment. When they condescend to discuss with the papists, and on popish principles, the validity of their own ordinations, they either perform a superfluous labour, or something worse; but when they insult the understanding of other protestants, by a vain boast of certain mystical and miraculous gifts derived from a long succession of popish bishops, and consequently confirmed by a long succession of popes, do they

¹ "Proh dolor! et nonnullos constat per vim et scelus in locum illum irrepsisse, et sanctissimam cathedram; moribus inquinatissimis foedavisse; alios vero, quanquam legitime ad ejus fastigium dignitatis eveectos, ambitiosa dominandi libidine exarsisse, et, magna regum ac principum secularium aemulatione, fines imperii sui, quod initio mere fuit spirituale, temporalis potestatis accessione proferre, nullo non artificio esse annixos." (Barclaius de Potestate Papae, p. 36.) It must be recollected that this learned lawyer was not a protestant. "Ac," says Bishop Abbot, "de pontificum plurimorum flagitiosissimis moribus, ne quidem apud adversarios ipsos quaestio est, e quorum libris intelligimus fuisse ex illis portenta ac monstra teterrima." (De Suprema Potestate Regia, p. 133.)

not in the most unequivocal manner renounce the vitality of the protestant faith, and wallow in those dregs of priestcraft which the darkest ages of Christianity have accumulated? In the mere name of a bishop, which is interchangeable with that of a presbyter, there is nothing pernicious; but when a protestant bishop professes to confer the gift of the Holy Ghost,¹ and a protestant minister, calling himself a priest, professes to forgive sins, the protestants of another communion may at least be permitted to express some degree of charitable regret. Something nearly equivalent to the sacrifice of the mass is apt to intrude itself upon those who really consider themselves as priests; and accordingly we find the "unbloody sacrifice" to be a favourite speculation, as well as a favourite phrase.² Those

¹ Thus, says Bishop Burnet, "for the formal words used in the imposition of hands, though the saying *Receive the Holy Ghost* was a latter addition without any ancient authority, yet because this comes nearer the practice of our Saviour, it was retained as the form of giving orders." (*Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, pref. Lond. 1677, 8vo.) Here we do not examine a mere question of practice: the same practice must be accompanied with at least some portion of the same power. Is the person who usurps this solemn form of words, invested with divine attributes, or endowed with supernatural gifts? If he can heal the sick, make the lame walk, the dumb speak, the blind see, and can restore the dead to life, a consistent protestant may then, but not till then, admit that the use of such a form is not utterly vain, and worse than vain. In this respect, the adherents of the bishop of Rome are perfectly consistent; inasmuch as they uniformly maintain that the power of working miracles has never been withdrawn from their own church, which they are pleased to describe as catholic and apostolical.

² See, for example, the interminable work of Johnson, called "The Unbloody Sacrifice, and Altar, unvail'd and supported: in which the Nature of the Eucharist is explain'd according to the Sentiments of the Christian Church in the four first Centuries." Lond. 1714-8, 2 parts, 8vo. Not satisfied with bestowing nearly a thousand pages on this subject, he reverts to it in a posthumous tract, subjoined to Dr Brett's Life of the late Reverend John Johnson,

who wish to search for popery in disguise, need not revert to the age of Montague and Laud. When we approach the age of the ejected nonjurors, we perceive that, being excluded from the temporalities of the church, they sought for consolation by exalting and mystifying all its spiritual pretensions. We find a notable example in the case of Dr Hickee, who, after having been ejected from the deanery of Worcester, was consecrated by the nonjuring bishops as suffragan of Thetford.¹ He was distinguished as a man of uncommon learning: his "*Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*," although a better work might now be produced, must be regarded as a solid and durable monument of his erudition and industry; nor can we avoid a feeling of regret that a person capable of much better employment, should have wasted his exertions in mystical reveries concerning the sublimities of the Christian priesthood and the episcopal order.² He seems to have been deeply imbued with the spirit of popery; and the same remark may with equal justice be applied to Mr Dodwell, another nonjuror of no small celebrity. Henry Dodwell was a native of Ireland, and had been a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, but had vacated his place by declining to take orders: he was afterwards appointed Camden profes-

A.M. Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent. Lond. 1748, 8vo. "Therein," to adopt the language of Dr Twisse on a similar occasion, "I perceive the main thing you reached after was a certain mystery concerning a sacrifice, which the papists have miserably transformed, but in your sense is now a days become a mystery to all the Christian world." See the Works of Joseph Mede, p. 846, 4th edit. Lond. 1677, fol.

¹ Under the Norman dynasty, Thetford was for a short time the seat of a bishop, but Norwich was found to be a preferable situation. (Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. iv. p. 1.)

² See Dr Hickee's *Two Treatises*, one of the Christian Priesthood, the other of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order. Lond. 1711, 2 vols. 8vo.

sor of ancient history at Oxford, and was ejected for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. He was profoundly skilled in antiquity ; but his application and memory being much superior to his sagacity and discrimination, he suffered himself to be completely bewildered by the doctrines and dreams of the fathers, whose works, to be converted to any useful purpose, must be read with much circumspection and sobriety of judgment.¹ Al-

¹ Of the intrinsic value of their writings, a very adequate opinion may, I am disposed to think, be formed from an examination of the following works. *Dallaei de Usu Patrum libri duo.* Genevae, 1656, 4to. *Whitby, Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios.* Lond. 1714, 8vo. *Barbeyrac, Traité de la Morale des Peres de l'Eglise.* Amst. 1728, 4to. *Middleton's Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers* which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church, from the earliest Ages through several successive Centuries. Third edition. Lond. 1749, 4to. *Daillé's treatise*, written in French, was translated into Latin by *Met-tayer*; but as the version was revised and enlarged by the author, it has in a great measure superseded the original. On the work of *Barbeyrac*, a learned lawyer, some animadversions may be found in *Lord Hailes's Inquiry into the Secondary Causes* which *Mr Gibbon* has assigned for the rapid Growth of Christianity, p. 176. *Edinb.* 1786, 4to. Whatever opinions *Dr Middleton* may have entertained on some other subjects of importance, it is not to be doubted that the publication of his *Free Inquiry* was highly conducive to the cause of truth. His work encountered the most vehement and acrimonious opposition ; and many of the clergy, with *Archbishop Secker* at their head, thought themselves warranted in representing this lingering power of miracles as an article of faith. But the progress of reason, though slow, is commonly certain ; and the present bishop of *Lincoln*, *Dr Kaye*, has ventured to express himself in the following terms : " My conclusion therefore is, that the power of working miracles was not extended beyond the disciples, upon whom the apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands." (*Ecclesiastical History of the second and third Centuries*, illustrated from the *Writings of Tertul-lian*, p. 98. *Cambridge*, 1826, 8vo.) This question, it is easy to perceive, involves the more general question of the credit due to the fathers in the decision of theological controversies. In the opinion of

though he continued a layman, no person could entertain more extravagant and preposterous notions of the divine influence communicated to bishops and priests. The human soul, according to his conception, is a principle naturally mortal, but is immortalized by the pleasure of God, to punishment or to reward, by its union with the divine baptismal spirit; and "none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing spirit, since the apostles, but only the *Bishops*."¹ Some men of talents, one of whom was Dr Clarke, condescended to expose this delirious learning.² The race of Romanizing protestants, so far from being extinct, is rapidly increasing in numbers and in audacity. When the papists pretend to all the glories of an apostolical succession, and to the attendant power of remitting or retaining sins, they so far act with consistency as to make an unequivocal appeal to the continued possession of other

the same judicious prelate, "the principal value of the writings of the fathers, consists, perhaps, in the testimony which they bear to the authenticity of the books of the New Testament." (Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, p. 133, 2d edit. Lond. 1836, 8vo.) Dr Pye Smith, a very eminent theologian, arrives at a similar conclusion: "I am no advocate for submission to the authority of the fathers, either as divines or as interpreters of scripture. With some honourable exceptions, they were, in the one capacity, injudicious and inconsistent; in the other, arbitrary and irrational." (Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. p. 212, 3d edit. Lond. 1837, 3 vols. 8vo.)

¹ Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse, proving, from the Scriptures and the first Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally Mortal. Second edition. Lond. 1706, 8vo. He afterwards published a work entitled "The natural Mortality of Humane Souls clearly demonstrated." Lond. 1708, 8vo. "J'estime infiniment," says Leibnitz, "l'érudition de Mr Dodwell, mais son raisonnement est pitoyable." (Opera, tom. vi. p. 276.)

² In the words of Lactantius, we may certainly aver, "qui eos delirasse non putat, ipse delirat." (Divinae Institutiones, lib. vii. § 3.)

miraculous gifts, which admit of being verified by the testimony of the external senses. In the case of both churches, we must witness one denomination of miracles before we can extend our credence to the other.

To have bestowed so much attention upon the various arguments suggested by the abbot of Ratisbon, may perhaps be thought a work of supererogation. It must however be recollected that similar averments continue to be repeated, partly by avowed papists, and partly by a certain class of protestants, who still linger under the shade of ancient superstition. Thus, according to the late archbishop of Dublin, the papists have a church without religion, and the presbyterians religion without a church. There is a strong sectarian spirit which is by no means peculiar to those who are commonly described as sectaries ; a spirit which has not unfrequently urged the champions of the church to assimilate with the very essence of religion their own mystical and absurd reveries of apostolical succession, and other notions not more consonant with scripture and common sense. This sectarian language, when duly interpreted, seems merely to signify that the presbyterians have no ministers who are described as bishops, and who pretend to communicate the gift of the Holy Ghost. The genuine high-churchmen, with Dr Magee among the rest, appear to commit a radical error in relation to the very meaning of the word church ; while they "cry out continually the church ! the church ! with as much noise, and perhaps upon the same principle, as the Ephesian silversmiths did for their Diana."¹ The clergy certainly do not exclusively constitute the church. According to our understanding, the Christian church comprehends the collective body of the people who believe in the name of Christ ; but, in their private contemplation, the church scarcely expands her arms much wider than to embrace themselves, with their own

¹ Locke's Letters concerning Toleration, p. 39.

dignities and emoluments.¹ Vital Christianity, that religion which renews the heart and regulates the conduct, is happily not confined to any sect or denomination; it is not circumscribed by the artificial and arrogant boundaries established by any church, however strong in "sacerdotal rank and office," and however maintained in secular wealth, and upheld by the strong arm of secular power. "Whosoever," says Locke, "requires those things in order to ecclesiastical communion, which Christ does not require in order to eternal life, may perhaps indeed constitute a society accommodated to his own opinion, and his own advantage; but how that can be called the church of Christ, which is established upon laws that are not his, and which excludes such persons from its communion, as he will one day receive into the kingdom of Heaven, I understand not." For those who belong to a communion which is said to have some religion, but no church, it does not seem altogether unreasonable to call in question the pontifical pretensions of any church, or, in more appropriate language, any body of ecclesiastics, however described, that arrogates to itself the uninterrupted possession of certain miraculous powers, which produce no visible or intelligible effects. All those powers they profess to derive from another church, of which they cannot but admit the gross corruption; but they very coolly state, "though the calling of the popish priests be unlawful, yet ours, derived from them, is lawful."² Here the premises and the conclusion do not manifestly bear a very logical affinity to each other. What opinion must be entertained, by any

¹ "And indeed," says Dr Jortin, "all the writers who by the *church* mean prelates, or ecclesiastical councils and convocations, or the body of the clergy, use the word *church* in a sense utterly unknown to scripture and to primitive antiquity." (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. p. 188.)

² Mason's Vindication of the Church of England, and of the lawful Ministry thereof, translated by John Lindsay, p. 564. Lond. 1728, fol.

consistent presbyterian, of many very recent and persevering attempts to adulterate the protestant faith, to compound with it an impure mixture of Romish priestcraft, by inculcating a blind and delusive reliance on the infallible efficacy of certain priestly functions, even when exercised by an individual who is notoriously destitute of scriptural knowledge, and who preaches doctrines confessedly pernicious?¹ Those who suffer themselves to be deluded by such notions, might with equal propriety revert to the Roman dotage of washing away all venial sins by the sprinkling of holy water.²

¹ A popular preacher does not hesitate to utter such sublimated nonsense as this: "If whensoever the minister is himself deficient and untaught, so that his sermons exhibit a wrong system of doctrine, you will not allow that Christ's church may be profited by the ordinance of preaching, you clearly argue that Christ has given up his office, and that he can no longer be styled 'the minister of the true tabernacle:' when every thing seems against the true followers of Christ, so that, on a carnal calculation, you would suppose the services of the church stripped of all efficacy, then, by acting faith on the Head of the ministry, they are instructed and nourished, though, in the main, the given lesson be falsehood, and the professed sustenance little better than poison." This has been too truly described as "a passage of almost incredible folly." See the *Eclectic Review*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 520.

² "Inter effectus aquae benedictae, qui et plurimi sunt, et longe praeclari, unus est praecipuus, ut scilicet per eam ante conspectum Domini peccata venialia remittantur; id quod communi consensu doctores profitentur." (*M. Antonii Marsilii Columnae Bononiensis, J. C. Archiepiscopi Salernitani, Hydragiologia, sive, de Aqua Benedicta*, p. 293. Romae, 1586, 4to.)

JOHN LESLEY.

JOHN LESLEY, the celebrated bishop of Ross, was born on the 29th of September 1527. In an account of his life for which he must himself have supplied the materials, he is said to have been born of honourable parents, and to have been a descendant of the ancient and noble family of Lesley, which then continued to flourish in Scotland. According to another account, which is less vague in its terms, but still disguises the truth, his father was Gavin, a great-grandson of Andrew Lesley of Balquhain,¹ the representative of a well-known family in the county of Aberdeen. Knox has clearly stated that he was the son of a priest;² and the illegitimacy of his birth is sufficiently ascertained from a dispensation, granted under the authority of a papal bull, and rendering him capable of receiving holy orders;³ for without such a dispensa-

¹ *Laurus Leslaeana explicata*, § 31. Graecii, 1692, fol. "Gavanus, Alexandri quartogenitus, ducta in consortem thori N. N. suscepit ex ea Joannem episcopum Rossensem." There is evidently a studied ambiguity in the expression. Mr Riddell mentions that the parson of Oyne was summoned as one of the nearest of kin to "Andrew Lesslie, son to the deceased William Lesslie of New-Lesslie, a pupil." (*Peerage Law*, p. 205.)

² Knox's *Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun*, p. 262. edit. Edinb, 1732, fol.

³ Keith's *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 198. Russell's edit. From the originals belonging to the family of Balquhain, this industrious writer has given the substance of twelve documents which

tion, a person of spurious birth was declared incapable by the canon law. In this document, bearing date the 9th of July 1538, he is described as a scholar of the diocese of Moray ; and Keith conjectures, with great probability, that he was the son of Gavin Lesley, rector of Kingusy, and likewise, as he supposes, official of that diocese. The bishop's father is described as an eminent lawyer ; and a knowledge of the canon law was indispensable in a person who held this judicial situation.¹

Lesley prosecuted his studies in King's College, Aberdeen, where he took the degree of A.M. Keith mentions a deed by the bishop of Aberdeen, promoting him, a " clerk of his diocese, to the character of an acolyte in his cathedral church, dated 15th June 1546." This statement is scarcely intelligible : the character of an acolyte, which cannot well be described as promotion, is that of an individual who has been admitted to one of the lower orders in the Romish church ; the seven orders being those of porter, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and priest. In the twentieth year of his age, he became a canon of the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin. It was apparently this improvement in his circumstances that enabled him to obtain the most liberal education which was then to be procured. Having spent some time in Paris, where he directed his attention to the study of divinity and languages, especially the Greek and Hebrew, he proceeded to the university of Poitiers, and there applied himself to the study of the civil

reflect much light on the bishop's personal history. Kennedy identifies him with the John Lesley who was master of the music school at Aberdeen. (*Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 135.) From the statements contained in the text, it is sufficiently obvious that the supposition is altogether improbable.

¹ The name of Gavin Lesley occurs in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, p. 372, 402, 420. Edinb. 1837, 4to. He is described as parson of Kingusy, and, in one instance, as prebendary of Kingusy, and commissary-general of Moray for the time.

and canon laws for the space of nearly four years. He afterwards resided about a year at Toulouse, where he took the degree of licentiate of the civil law ; and having returned to Paris, and taken the degree of LL. D. he continued for nearly another year to read lectures on the canon law.

With these proofs of his academical attainments, he returned to his native country in the month of April 1554, and successively obtained many different preferments, secular as well as ecclesiastical. He was appointed professor of the canon law in the university of Aberdeen ;¹ and on the 18th of April 1558, Bishop Gordon, with the dean and chapter, granted a commission nominating him official of that diocese. The commission describes him as parson of Oyne and Morthlack, prebendary and canon of the cathedral church of Aberdeen ; but a subsequent document, dated on the 2d of July 1559, relates to his induction and investiture in the parsonage, canonry, and prebend of Oyne, stall in the choir, and place in the chapter. "I did accept the office ~~judicator~~ of the dioces of Aberdene," he remarks, "whereⁱⁿ I travelled ten yeres, and how I did behave my selfe therein, I report my selfe to the testimonie of the country ; for besids the ministratioun of justice in mine owne office, I assisted the sheriffe of the shire with my counsell for execution of justice according to the lawes, and employed alsoe other whyles great travells in compoundinge and agreeinge of differences betwixt parties, proceedinge either of deadly feads, or other debates for lands or goods ; which is the right office of a judge, as saith the jurisconsult."²

The protestant religion had now obtained a stable footing in Scotland ; and the Book of Discipline was presented to a convention of estates held at Edinburgh in the month of January 1561. Several of the papists had been summoned

¹ Orem's Description of King's College, Aberdeen, p. 156.

² Lesley's Negotiations, p. 7.

to give an account of their faith ; and among these was the official of Aberdeen, together with Patrick Myrtom, treasurer, James Strachan, a canon of the cathedral, and Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of King's College. The disputants on the other side were Knox, Willock, and Goodman,*whom we may easily suppose to have been an overmatch for the theologians of Aberdeen. Of this disputation Lesley and Knox have each given an account, nor is it easy to reconcile their statements with each other. According to one of them, the four respondents made a very firm profession of the catholic faith ; and of the sacrifice of the mass Anderson gave so able an exposition, that the heretics evinced no further inclination to dispute, either with him or any other catholic, concerning the high mysteries of the true religion. According to the other account, the sub-principal made a very lame defence of his opinions, and finally declined to continue the disputation, admitting "that he was better sein in philosophy then theology." Lesley was then required to answer the former arguments against the mass ; "and he with gravity began to answer, If our master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing ; for I know nothing bot the canone law ; and the grittest ressoun that ever I culd find thare is *Nolumus & Volumus*." The historian of the reformation subjoins, "the nobility hearing that neyther the ane nor the uther wald answer directly, said, We have bene miserably deceaved heirtofor ; for if the mess may not obtean remissioun of sines to the quick and the dead, quharefore war all the abbacies so richly dotit with our temporall lands ?"¹ The other historian has stated that he and his associates were subjected to the punishment of being compelled to remain in Edinburgh, and listen to the sermons of the ministers.² From this statement, which is by no means incredible, there is a material depar-

¹ Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun of Religioun, p. 262.

² Leslaeus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 574.

ture in the biography to which we have already referred. "Upon this, the sectarian nobility were, by the instigation of the heretical ministers, so much incensed against Dr Lesley, and the doctors his associates, that they were taken into custody, and put in the prison of Edinburgh, the chief city of Scotland, where, after confinement for some time, they found sureties, who were bound in a very great penalty, that they should make their appearance, in order to their trial, whenever they should be required: upon which they were at length set at liberty, and returned to Aberdeen." This biographical tract was obviously intended to exalt the subject of it to the character of a great confessor and sufferer for the catholic faith; and some of its statements are apparently to be received with a certain degree of caution, if not suspicion.

On the death of Francis the Second, the leaders of the protestant party sent the prior of St Andrews to France, with the view of preparing the mind of the young queen for a favourable consideration of their cause. In order to counteract this influence, Lesley was despatched on a similar mission by the popish earls of Huntley, Crawford, Athole, Sutherland, and Caithness, the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross. He found Mary at Vitri in Champagne on the 15th of April 1561, and earnestly recommended to her care and protection the interests of the tottering church: he appears at the same time to have recommended himself very effectually to her good graces. She did not however adopt his desperate scheme of landing at Aberdeen, and endeavouring to raise an army for the purpose of restoring the catholic faith. He attended the queen on her return to Scotland, where she landed on the 21st of August. On the 14th of January 1564 he was admitted an ordinary judge of the court of session. If we may rely on the authority of the tract already quoted, he became president of that court, but this statement is not supported by the records: in the absence

of the president, he may occasionally have filled his chair, and this is perhaps the only charitable construction which such an averment will easily admit. The queen likewise nominated him a member of the privy council, and bestowed upon him the abbacy of Lindores, which he was allowed to hold *in commendam*. The bishopric of Ross becoming vacant by the death of Henry Sinclair on the 2d of January 1565, she secured to him this higher preferment, and the necessary bulls were procured from the pope.

In the year 1566 the queen issued, under the great seal, a commission to certain noblemen, prelates, and lawyers, granting to them, or any six of their number, full power and authority to revise and publish the laws of the realm. They were to commence with the books called *Regiam Majestatem* and *Quoniam Attachamenta*, and were to descend according to the order of chronology; but the only apparent fruit of their labours was a publication of the acts of parliament, from the reign of James the First. These were printed under the superintendence of the learned civilian, Dr Henryson, one of the commissioners; and in his preface he has particularly commended "ane Reuerend Father in God, Johne Bischop of Ros, Lord of our Soueranis Se-creit Counsall, and of hir College of Justice, for his suggestion to our Souerane of this notabill purpose, eirnistfull performing of the said commissioun, and cure in conuening of my Lordis Commissaris his colligis, and liberalitie in the furthsetting of this imprenting."¹

To the fortunes of the queen Lesley adhered with unshaken fidelity; and as her career was marked by many

¹ The Actis and Constitutionis of the Realme of Scotland. Edinb. 1566, fol.—In 1567 the bishops of Aberdeen and Ross acted as curators of the younger children of George fourth earl of Huntley, when they concurred in the proceedings for obtaining a reversal of their father's attainder. (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 572.)

actions which set virtue and decency at defiance, his employment as a privy counsellor could not always be very suitable to his character as a churchman. He is supposed to have been the individual who suggested an expedient for granting to the earl of Bothwell an indirect pardon for the murder of the king;¹ a crime to which there is the strongest moral evidence that the queen was an accessory, before as well as after the fact. On the 24th of April 1567 the earl seized her person, and conducted her as a prisoner to the castle of Dunbar. This act of apparent violence, which at first seemed to be so unnecessary, had evidently been devised with her entire approbation. The ultimate object of such an expedient did not long remain doubtful: in the course of a few days, she granted him a pardon for this treasonable act, and for all other crimes with which he could be charged. By a general clause, inserted in the common form, she pardoned the murder of her own husband, and yet avoided the scandal of mentioning it in direct terms. She soon afterwards created her paramour duke of Orkney; and having hastily procured a divorce from his wife, his infamous nuptials with the queen were celebrated on the 15th of May, about three months after he had assassinated her former husband. The measure of her guilt and folly was now full. She was committed to custody in the castle of Lochleven on the 15th of June, and was finally divested of the royal authority. On the 2d of May 1568 she escaped from her prison, and soon found herself at the head of a considerable army. The bishop of Ross had retired to his diocese, and, according to his own account, was there employing his time in contemplation and study, and in giving counsel to friends and others committed to his charge, when the queen sent him a message requiring his immediate attendance at Hamilton. In company with certain noblemen, whose names he does not

¹ Buchanani *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. p. 356.

mention, he accordingly hastened to obey this summons; but before his arrival her forces had been completely dispersed at the Battle of Langside, and she had found it necessary to consult her safety by proceeding towards the borders of the two kingdoms. In an evil hour, she entered the English territory. She speedily discovered that she had reposed her confidence in a cruel and unrelenting rival, whom neither the common ties of blood, nor the sympathy due from one sovereign princess to another who had fallen from her high estate, had any tendency to move with feelings of generosity or even of compassion.

*Tὰς φρένας διέφθορε
Θνητῶν, ὅσοισιν ἀνδάνει, μοναρχία.¹*

Mary again required the services of the bishop, and in the month of September he waited upon her at Bolton castle. Lesley acted as one of her commissioners during the conferences which opened at York on the 4th of October, and in the course of the ensuing month were continued at Westminster. After many debates, which were very ably maintained on both sides, this commission terminated without any immediate result. In February 1569 he proceeded to Tutbury castle, where the queen was detained under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury; but on some suspicion of having concerted a plan to effect her escape, both he and Lord Boyd were soon afterwards retained in ward at Burton upon Trent, and were not released till after an interval of nearly three months. The bishop was now employed in the capacity of an ambassador to the queen of England, and he acquitted himself with great zeal and ability, but not with corresponding success. He was instructed "to sue earnestly that the queen his mistress might be put to libertie, and restored to her crowne and realme; and to that effect to make such reasonable offers to the queen of

¹ Euripidis Hippolytus, v. 1011. edit. Matthiae.

England, as might fully satisfie her for anie speciall debate or contraversie that had hapned betwixt their majesties, touchinge the title of the crowne of England, and to assure that shee would alsoe shew her clemencie toward her subiects in Scotland whoe had offended her." His instructions embraced other particulars ; and he was specially enjoined to acquaint the French and Spanish ambassadors with his proceedings, and to ask their advice in all matters connected with his mission.

In the mean time, his pecuniary resources were somewhat scanty and precarious. A messenger brought me advertisement, he informs us, that the earl of Moray "had taken my house of Rosse from my servants, and medled with my whole benefices, and all that I had in Scotland, and had sayd to my freinds that he would cause me to leave my ambassade for povertie ; which he intended should take effect, for he putt Androwe Monrowe his servant in my house at Rosse, whoe had spoiled it before, and slaine some of my servaunts in it, since my cominge into England, albeit it was recovered shortely by my friends in my absence from him at that time : but nowe he hath withholden the same, and taken up my whole fruitcs continually since that time. And farther the erle would not suffer anie of my friends or merchants to make me anie furnyshinge ; and he did well forsee that the queen my mistres might not support her owne necessitie, nor yet my chargs, at that time a great straye ; for he toke up her whole rents in Scotland, and the prince of Condies armie was lieinge then at Poicters and Toures, where the moste parte of her dowrie in Fraunce consists, and by that meanes shee could gett none of it, soe that truely wee were driven to a great straye." In the midst of these perplexities, he applied to the French ambassador, who was unable to afford him any relief. Mary then wrote to the duke of Alva ; and, on his responsibility, the Spanish ambassador furnished him with a thousand crowns, one portion of which he remitted

to the queen, another to the garrison of Dunbarton castle, and the residue he retained for the expenses of the embassy ; nor did he obtain any further supply during his residence at the court of England.

The scheme of a marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk involved many of their adherents in danger and difficulties. The duke was himself committed to the Tower, and several other men of rank were detained in custody. Lesley was repeatedly examined before the English queen and council, and was confronted with the earl of Leicester, who had likewise been implicated in the same transaction. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland had recourse to arms, but were not long able to keep the field : a force having been sent against them, they suddenly retired into Scotland, in the month of December 1569. The former of these noblemen having entered Liddaldale, was seized by a band of freebooters, and delivered into the hands of the earl of Moray, who detained him as a prisoner in Lochleven castle. A short time before his assassination, the regent intimated to the ministers of Elizabeth that the earl of Northumberland, and other Englishmen then in Scotland, had mentioned the bishop of Ross as having been cognizant of their designs, and having encouraged them by the promise of obtaining money from foreign princes. In consequence of this information, he was placed under arrest, and was detained in custody for six weeks before he was subjected to any examination. In March 1570 he was brought before the council at Hampton Court, and confidently denied the charge ; but what is directly denied in the account of his Negotiations, is virtually admitted in the narrative of his life. He did not recover his liberty till after a further detention of two months, and he was speedily involved in fresh troubles. Ridolfi, a papal emissary, was employed in conducting certain negotiations between the Scottish queen, the duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Alva. At Brussels he had entrusted Charles Baily, a Flemish ser-

vant of the queen's, with a packet of letters addressed to Mary herself, to Norfolk, Lesley, the Spanish ambassador, and Lord Lumley. Instead of obeying the bishop's injunctions, by leaving the packet with the captain of Calais, this messenger retained it in his own possession ; and having been searched at Dover, all his papers and books were seized, and he was himself committed to the Marshalsea.

Among the books were some copies of the bishop's defence of Mary's honour, and her right of succession to the crown of England. By means of Lord Cobham, warden of the Cinque Ports, he had sufficient influence and dexterity to obtain possession of the most material letters ; and having " others made to their quantitie and similitude," these were transmitted to the council. Of this substitution he contrived to make the prisoner duly aware, in order to allay his fears, and to prevent him from making any dangerous disclosures ; for his alarm had been so great, that he plainly declared he was the bearer of letters which would cause himself and many others to be hanged. Being now recovered from his agitation, he refused to divulge any material fact on his first examination ; but on being sent to the Tower, and placed upon the rack, he avoided the torture by a full confession of his transactions with Ridolfi, and by a statement of the letters having been conveyed to the bishop of Ross. Of this confession the bishop obtained secret intelligence, and he lost no time in preparing himself against its consequences. Only one individual, John Cuthbert, his chief secretary, was acquainted with his ciphers and secret writings : he was immediately sent to a place of safety, and after being concealed four months in London, was secretly conveyed to France. The ambassador took care that no dangerous papers should be found in the search which he now anticipated.

In the mean time, his labours, anxieties, and disappointments had severely affected his health, though for the last thirty years he had not been visited with any sickness. For

nearly three months he was afflicted with a fever or ague, and was attended by two of the best physicians in London. On the 13th of May 1571, while his malady was still unabated, four members of the council, the earl of Sussex, Lord Burleigh, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Ralph Sadler, came to his residence, and began to interrogate him respecting the facts disclosed by the intercepted messenger. He averred that he was accountable to his royal mistress, and would not admit any other responsibility. They did not fail to enquire for Cuthbert, but found that he could not be traced. They then removed all his servants, except two who were left to attend him during his illness ; and two gentlemen of good credit, named Shipworth and Kingsmill, were appointed to remain with their own servants in charge of the ambassador and his house. His papers were carefully examined, and his study was locked and sealed. On the following day, afflicted as he was, he was conveyed in a chariot of the queen's to Ely House in Holburn, and was there committed to the keeping of the two gentlemen already mentioned, and of the bishop of Ely's own retinue. When his health was somewhat restored, he was on five different occasions examined before the privy council. The key of his study was at length restored to him ; and on the 17th of August he was commanded to accompany the bishop to the country, being permitted to retain five of his own servants, who were to attend their master wherever the English prelate should travel or reside.

The duke of Norfolk, after having been set at liberty, was a second time committed to the Tower ; and the investigation of his alleged acts of treason led to further discoveries respecting the bishop of Ross's participation in his designs. An order was despatched to the Isle of Ely, directing Bishop Cox to send his prisoner to London. There he accordingly arrived on the 19th of October, and was first detained in the house of the lord mayor. Several members of the council, the earl of Bedford, the lord admi-

ral, Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir Thomas Smith, accompanied by the attorney and solicitor general, came to interrogate him on the twenty-fourth of that month, and treated him with the utmost harshness, threatening him with the rack and the gallows. He pleaded the privileges of an ambassador, and, producing the queen of England's safeconduct, appealed to his royal mistress as the only competent judge of his conduct during his embassy. He was nevertheless sent to the Tower, where he appears to have been treated with great and unnecessary rigour. "At my entry into the Towre," he states, "I was received by the leivetenant, and placed in a prison called the bloudie towre, a very evill ayred and infected house (where noe man of honest callinge had bin kepid manie yeres before), with close windowes and dores with manie locks and bolts, which was torment sufficient enough for any livinge man that had bin all his daies at libertie, with a cockshott, as they call it, sett up without, right against my windowe, to keepe all light and sight from me. And at my first entres I was searched in all parts, and such paper and inke, as was in my companie, taken from me, which was another greife. And in this manner I was straitly and closely kept, and noe man had recourse unto me, but onely the leivetenant himselfe, duringe the whole time I was a prisoner." Of his subsequent treatment, of his different examinations, and of the various attempts to draw from him information which might either criminate himself or others, he has given a circumstantial and interesting detail in his Negotiations.

Dr Wilson, master of requests, was sent to him for the purpose of inducing him to become a witness against the duke of Norfolk, and to deliver certain letters which he had himself received from Ridolfi and others, and which were to be produced in evidence at the trial; but the bishop again relied upon his character as an ambassador, and, according to his own statement, refused either to appear as a witness,

or in any other way to furnish information which might tend to the prejudice of any individual. This unfortunate nobleman was convicted of high treason on the 16th of January, and was brought to the scaffold on the 2d of June, 1572. The rules of evidence were at that period little understood, and less regarded, nor was it necessary to produce the witnesses in court, provided there was any other method of rendering their depositions available: previous answers to interrogatories, the declarations or admissions of the prisoner or other individuals, were all received as the most legitimate evidence; and in fact the trial of the duke of Norfolk before his peers, was entirely conducted without the aid of parol testimony.¹ The bishop of Ross, whose name was perpetually mentioned in the course of the proceedings, may be considered as the principal witness against him; for of all the most material charges the proof seems in a great measure to have rested on what are described as the bishop's confessions, that is, the answers emitted during his repeated examinations after he had himself been taken into custody.² On perceiving that all their designs were discovered, Lesley had become more communicative, and had thus contributed to the ruin of a man whom he had so much contributed to entangle in dangerous schemes of ambition.

While he was beset with such perils in England, the re-

¹ "It appears," says Lord Auckland, "that so late as the whole sixteenth, and part of the seventeenth century, the first and most essential principles of evidence were either unknown, or totally disregarded. Depositions of witnesses, forthcoming if called, but not permitted to be confronted with the prisoners; written examinations of accomplices, living and amenable; confessions of convicts, lately hanged for the same offence; hearsays of those convicts, repeated at second hand from others; all these formed so many classes of competent evidence, and were received as such, in most solemn trials, by very learned judges." (*Principles of Penal Law*, p. 175. Lond. 1771, 8vo)

² *Brown's Tryal of Thomas Duke of Norfolk by his Peers*. Lond. 1709, 8vo.

gent sent Nicholas Elphinstone with a demand that he should be conveyed to Scotland ; a demand which he considered as a sufficient indication of the treatment that awaited him in his native country. But the duke of Montmorency having arrived from France on a special mission, brought instructions from the king to intercede for his release ; and this application was so far successful as to procure his removal to Farnham castle, the seat of the bishop of Winchester. The lieutenant of the Tower charged for his maintenance the sum of two hundred pounds, which was advanced by the French ambassador, and repaid by Mary : he likewise retained as a lawful perquisite the whole of the furniture and silver plate which the prisoner had brought for his own use ; and finally, says Lesley, " the gentleman-porter of the Tower retained my satin gown as due to him, because it was my uppermost cloth when I entred." Being only permitted to take one attendant, he selected Thomas Lesley, a secretary who had resided with him during his captivity, and had himself been subjected to a short imprisonment. In the castle of this prelate, Dr Horne, he has stated, " I remained the space of a year and three moneths, and all that time was very straitly kept, and two gentlemen did continually wait upon me night and day, and had no liberty to speake to any other his servants but in their presence, nor yet with any other but in my Lord of Winchester's own presence ; yet in all other things I was very honourably and friendly used by him."

During his confinement in the Tower, he had sought for consolation in study and meditation. There he had composed his *Piae Consolationes* ; and he was now permitted to transmit them to the queen, who needed consolation still more than her ambassador. From this pious treatise she derived so much gratification, that she devoted some of her prison hours to the task of transfusing a portion of it into French verse. He was induced to prepare a similar work, *Animi tranquilli Munimentum*, which he sent to her on the 1st of

October 1573, and had again the satisfaction of finding that his labours were duly appreciated. In the mean time, he was not free from the apprehension of personal danger ; the earl of Morton having twice sent a diplomatic agent, Captain Cockburn, for the purpose of renewing the demand for the delivery of his person. Having some reliance upon his own eloquence, he now addressed to Elizabeth a Latin oration for the recovery of his liberty ; and, whatever might be the effect of his classical pleading, he was soon afterwards released from his tedious confinement. The bishop of Winchester, on receiving the necessary order, conducted him to London on the 11th of November. On the sixteenth, he was brought before the council, at the house of the lord treasurer, and was informed that he would be permitted to proceed either to Scotland or France.

That Lesley had been deeply implicated in transactions which would justly have exposed a subject to punishment, there seems little or no reason to dispute : the state-papers, as well as the histories of that period, exhibit him in the light of a subtle, restless, and dangerous plotter, who resorted to a great variety of expedients for promoting the interest of the unfortunate queen. The English statesmen seem to have been much inclined to treat him as they ultimately treated Mary herself ; and in 1571 they had submitted his case to the opinion of five learned civilians, Lewis, Dale, Drury, Aubrey, and Jones.¹ In answer to one of the questions propounded, they declared, that, according to the law of nations, as well as the civil law, an ambassador who excites rebellion against the sovereign to whom he is sent, forfeits all his privileges, and may be subjected to punishment. But among the more civilized nations it has very generally been regarded as the safest maxim, rather to spare a delinquent than not to spare an ambassador ;² and al-

¹ Camdeni Annales, vol. ii. p. 237. edit. Hearnii.

² " *Levius eorum peccatum fore,*" says Cicero, "*si homini scelerato pepercissent, quam si legato non pepercissent.*" (In Verrem, i. 27.)

though he was thus subjected to a long and arbitrary imprisonment, the ministers of Elizabeth had never ventured to bring him to a formal trial.¹

In the month of January 1574 he landed in France, and there he remained till the following year, when Mary thought it expedient to send him on a mission to Rome. He experienced a very gracious reception from Gregory the Thirteenth, who in a great measure defrayed his expenses during the three years of his residence in that holy city. Besides the release of the queen from captivity, her ambassador's instructions related to various other matters, connected with her joint interest and that of the popish faith. The great object to be attained was her restoration to the throne ; and with the view of removing some of the obstacles, she was willing to admit her son to a participation of the royal dignity ; but in order to render him worthy of being thus associated, some scheme was to be devised for conveying him to a catholic country, and uniting him in marriage either with a daughter of the emperor of Germany or the king of Spain.

Lesley was more usefully employed in preparing for the press his general history of Scotland, which was published at Rome in the year 1578. It is dedicated to the pope, and the epistle dedicatory is followed by an address to Cardinal Cajetano, described as protector of the Scottish nation. Among the commendatory verses inserted in the volume, we find the contributions of Muretus, Ninian Winzet, and Alexander Seton, afterwards earl of Dunfermline, and chancellor of Scotland.² These elegant studies of the author

¹ Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. xviii. § iv. 5. Bynkershoek de Foro Legatorum, cap. xviii. p. 533. Wicquefort, l'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions, part. i. p. 559. All these writers refer to the case of Lesley, but Grotius in a more cursory manner, in one of his notes.

² An epigram in commendation of Lesley occurs among the poems of Joannes Gesseus, in the Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum, tom. i. p. 934.

were speedily interrupted by a new mission. Hopes were now entertained that the ancient faith might be restored in Scotland, by the power and influence of the earl of Athole ; and with the view of watching any favourable change of affairs, the pope directed the bishop of Ross to proceed towards the coast of France adjacent to Britain. His holiness having appointed him to supply the place of a nuncio who had recently died at the imperial court, Lesley travelled through Germany, and remained for some time at Prague, where Maximilian was then residing. His instructions from Mary partly related to the Scottish monasteries founded in Germany ; some of which having been seized by heretics and other evil disposed persons, he exerted his influence to procure their restoration to the Scottish monks. Monastic institutions have often been the strongholds of political, as well as moral misrule ; nor is it difficult to discern the spirit which dictated this ambassador's instructions. He visited the duke of Bavaria, and other catholic princes of the empire, and was every where well received till he arrived at Falsburg, a town near Strasburg, where he was seized by some officers with a guard of four hundred men, under the command of a protestant nobleman, George Cassimir of Littelsteyn. For the space of nearly two months, he was detained in the castle of Falsburg ; but they at length discovered their mistake in supposing him to be the archbishop of Rossana, a papal legate ; and on paying a considerable sum of money, he was permitted to continue his journey.

Passing through Lorraine, he arrived in France, and had the mortification to receive intelligence of the earl of Athole's sudden death, which took place on the 24th of April 1579. It was some consolation that the Cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen, soon afterwards appointed him suffragan and vicar general of that diocese. In this station he continued for the space of fourteen years. The kingdom was then devastated by civil war, and he naturally adhered to the party of the leaguers, who, with the view of

excluding Henry of Navarre, proclaimed the old cardinal king in the year 1589. While visiting this diocese in the course of the following year, Lesley was intercepted and cast into prison ; and in order to pay a ransom of nearly three thousand pistoles, he was under the necessity of selling his furniture and other goods. The city of Rouen was invested in 1591, and during the siege he is said to have exerted himself with great perseverance and resolution in encouraging the governor, officers, and citizens. As a reward of his services, the duke of Mayenne recommended him to Clement the Eighth as well qualified to fill the vacant bishopric of Coustance in Normandy. The pope issued the necessary bulls, accompanied with an unavailing licence to retain the see of Ross till he should be put in possession of his new diocese ; and he was graciously pleased to remit the annats, or first fruits, and other payments which usually attend a bishop's promotion. As he could not safely present himself at his episcopal seat, the ceremony of his admission was, in the year 1594, performed in the metropolitan church of Rouen.

But from this preferment he appears to have derived no advantage ; and the unhappy situation of public affairs in France induced him to seek another place of refuge. Directing his course towards Flanders, he reached Châteaue d'Aussy in the province of Artois, in the month of March, and afterwards proceeded to Brussels, where he experienced a friendly reception from the archduke Ernest, governor of the Netherlands. Of the history of Scotland, he had at an earlier period transmitted a copy to his catholic majesty, who testified its gracious reception by a letter, written in Latin, and bearing the royal signature. On this occasion he had promised to be mindful of the bishop's private affairs. On the day before her execution, Mary had addressed to Philip a letter in which she recommended her son to his special protection ; and she likewise requested him to bear in remembrance the

faithful services which had been rendered to her by the bishop of Ross. He directed the prince of Parma, then governor of the Netherlands, to bestow upon him the first bishopric or other prelacy that should become vacant in those provinces, and in the mean time to provide for him a suitable maintenance. The prince had accordingly assigned to him a pension of fifty crowns a month, to be computed from the first of June 1587; and this pension still continued to be paid, though not with sufficient regularity to prevent him from being exposed to occasional difficulties. The archbishopric of Mechlin having become vacant, the archduke and the council of state recommended him to Philip for this high preferment; but the design seems to have been frustrated, partly by the unexpected demise of Ernest, who, almost in the article of death, signified to the council his wish that Lesley's suit should not be neglected. He was encouraged by the nobility and counsellors to await the arrival of the new governor, Cardinal Albert, another archduke of Austria, brother to the deceased; and in order to smooth the path of preferment, he prepared a congratulation, which was not however published till after the death of the author. Part of the summer of 1595 he spent at Spa for the benefit of his declining health, and, as we are informed, "not without great inconvenience, and even the danger of his life, by the incursions of the heretics and the rebels of Holland; who crowding to those parts, robbed him of all his goods, and endeavoured to seize his person, that they might carry it off." But all his personal dangers, as well as his schemes of ambition, were terminated at Brussels on the 31st of May 1596, when he died in the sixty-ninth year of his age.¹

¹ Dodd has recorded his pious benefactions to the church. "He laid the foundation of three colleges for the education of clergymen, to be sent upon the mission, after the example of Dr Allen, as I find by letters between them upon that subject. Having completed

Bishop Lesley was evidently a man of very superior talents for literature as well as business. His studies and pursuits had been those of a lawyer and statesman, rather than a theologian ; and his intellect had been much exercised and whetted by a long course of diplomatic services, of a peculiarly delicate and dangerous nature. With the accomplishments of an elegant scholar, he united the dexterity of a man of the world. He is the author of various works, and several of these must still be considered as valuable. His defence of Queen Mary's honour is written with no small acuteness and address. The task which he had undertaken was sufficiently formidable : if the queen was not guilty of adultery and murder, her conduct had at least exhibited the strongest indications of guilt ; but this zealous and able champion shrinks from no difficulties, and is undismayed by the most prominent obstacles. His negotiations contain some characteristic details, and furnish some curious materials for history. But the most conspicuous of his works is his Latin history of Scotland, which is written

the establishment of a college for his countrymen in Paris, he gave a beginning to another at Rome, with a subsistence for about ten students ; where the Jesuits stepped in to be managers. This zealous bishop died in the year 1596, leaving behind him a sum of money towards the foundation of a third college, also for the clergy. The design could not be brought to bear till 1609, when a small community was set up at Antwerp, whereof the Jesuits were made superiors. But before matters could be entirely compleated, it was removed to Doway *an.* 1612, and governed by Walloon Jesuits, till one Curle (son of Mr Curle, formerly secretary to Mary queen of Scots) becoming a Jesuit, and bringing with him an addition of 5000 florins to the original stock, he was made rector of the college about 1620. Since that time the superior has been a Scotch Jesuit. Very few clergymen were educated there afterwards, and of latter years none at all ; the old fund, as may be supposed, being swallowed up by the latter addition." (Church History of England, from the year 1500 to the year 1688, vol. ii. p. 42. Brussels, 1737-42, 3 vols. fol.)

with a very considerable degree of elegance, and, in the more recent portion of it, supplies much important information. The work is divided into ten books; of which the first seven, ending with the reign of James the First, comprehend little more than an abridgement of Boyce. As he descends to his own times, he becomes much more copious and interesting. With the transactions of Mary's reign, which he has not however prosecuted beyond the year 1562, he had peculiar opportunities of becoming familiarly acquainted; and it is useful, as well as interesting, to compare the statements and reflections of Lesley and Buchanan, the most distinguished adherents of the popish and protestant parties.

Of the works of Lesley I subjoin a catalogue, accompanied with a few notices, chiefly bibliographical.

1. A Defence of the Honour of the right highe, mightye, and noble Princesse Marie, Queene of Scotlande, and Dowager of France; with a Declaration aswell of her Right, Title, and Intereste to the Sucessioun of the Crowne of Englande, as that the Regimente of Women ys conformable to the Lawe of God and Nature. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete, at the signe of Iustice Royall against the Blacke Bell, by Eusebius Dicaeophilus, anno Dom. 1569, 8vo. A Treatise concerning the Defence of the Honvr, &c. Made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelar of Diuinitie, an. 1570. Leodii, apud Gualterum Morberium, 1571, 8vo. Here the tract relating to the succession bears the following title: "A Treatise tovcching the Right, Title, and Interest of the mightie and noble Princesse Marie, Queene of Scotland, to the Succession of the Croune of England. Made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelar of Diuinitie, assisted with the aduise of Antonie Broune, Knight, one of the Iustices of the Common Place. An. 1567." This treatise he afterwards translated into Latin, as well as French, and likewise published the original in a separate form. "De Titulo et Jure serenissimae Principis Mariae

Scotorum Reginae, quo Regni Angliae Successionem sibi juste vendicat, Libellus," &c. Rhemis, 1580, 4to. "A Treatise towching the Right, Title, and Interest," &c. An. 1584, 8vo. "Du Droict et Tiltre de la serenissime Princesse, Marie Royne d'Escosse, et de tres illustre Prince Iacques VI. Roy d'Escosse son fils, à la Succession du Royaume d'Angleterre: avec la Genealogie des Roys d'Angleterre ayans regné depuis cinq cens ans. Premièrement composé en Latin et Anglois, par R. P. en Dieu M. Iean de Lessellie, Euesque de Rosse, Escossois, lors qu'il estoit Ambassadeur en Angleterre pour sa Majesté, et nouvellement mis en François par le mesme Autheur." Rouen, 1587, 8vo. The same work was also translated into Spanish, under the title of "Declaracion del Titulo y Derecho que la serenissima Princesa Doña Maria Reyna de Escocia tiene a la Sucesion de Ingalaterra." Antonio mentions him as the translator of his own work.¹ The defence of the queen's honour, from the edition of 1571, is reprinted in Anderson's Collections, vol. i. and the Latin version of the tract on the right of succession in those of Jebb, "De Vita et Rebus gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae Autores sedecim," tom. i. Lond. 1725, 2 tom. fol. Of his tract on female government he also published a Latin translation. "De illustrium Foeminarum in Repub. administranda, ac ferendis Legibus, Autoritate, Libellus," &c. Rhemis, 1580, 4to. This tract was occasioned by Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrevvs Regiment of Women," published in 1558. His vindication of the queen's right of succession was written in answer to a book published in 1560 by John Hales, clerk of the hanaper. Lesley writes in the character of an Englishman, and therefore borrows the name of Morgan Philips, who was a popish priest of Douay. In order to maintain his assumed character with more propriety, he submitted the manuscript to his friend

¹ Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, tom. ii. p. 360.

and physician Dr Good, "that he might turn into English any Scottish words in it."¹

2. Joannis Leslaei Scoti, Episcopi Rossen. pro Libertate impetranda, Oratio, ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam. Parisiis, 1574, 8vo. This oration is reprinted in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. iii.

3. Joannis Leslaei Scoti, Episcopi Rossen. libri duo: quorum uno, Piae afflicti Animi Consolationes, divinaque Remedia; altero, Animi tranquilli Munimentum et Conservatio, continentur. Ad serenissimam Principem D. Mariam Scotorum Reginam. His adjecimus ejusdem Principis Epistolam ad Rossensem Episcopum, et Versus item Gallicos Latino carmine translato, pias etiam aliquot Preces, &c. Parisiis, 1574, 8vo.

4. De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem: e quibus septem veterum Scotorum res in primis memorabiles contractius, reliqui vero tres posteriorum regum ad nostra tempora historiam, quae hucusque desiderabatur, fusius explicant. Accessit nova et accurata Regionum et Insularum Scotiae, cum vera ejusdem tabula topographica, Descriptio. Authore Joanne Leslaeo, Scoto, Episcopo Rossensi. Romae, 1578, 4to. Nunc denuo recens. anno Domini 1675, 4to. This latter edition, which is said to have been printed in London, contains a dedication to the earl of Rothes, subscribed by a George Lesley. That portion of the history which relates to the reign of Mary, is inserted in the collection of Dr Jebb, tom. i.

5. Congratulatio serenissimo Principi et illustrissimo Cardinali Alberto Archiduci Austriae, &c. de fausto ac felici ejus Adventu ad Regimen Provinciarum Inferioris Germaniae. Per R. in Christo P. Joan. Leslaeum, Episcopum Rossensem, Scotum. Subjicitur series Vitae suae. Bruxellae, 1596, 8vo. This little work is reprinted in Anderson's *Collections*, vol. i. Of the account of the author's life, a translation is inserted in vol. iii.

¹ Anderson's pref. to Lesley's *Defence*, p. xi.

6. A Discourse conteyninge a perfect Accompt given to the moste vertuous and excellent Princesse, Marie Queene of Scots, and her Nobility, by John Lesley, Bishop of Rosse, Ambassador for her Highnes toward the Queene of England, of his whole Charge and Proceedings during the time of his Ambassage, from his entres in England in September 1568, to the 26th of March 1572. This account of the bishop's negociations, which extends to 252 pages, was printed, for the first time, in Anderson's Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen o Scotland, vol. iii. Edinb. & Lond. 1727-8, 4 vols. 4to. As the language was Anglicized by Dr Good, it may be presumed that Lesley intended the work for immediate publication.

7. The History of Scotland, from the death of King James I. in the year M.CCCC.XXXVI. to the year M.D.LXI. By John Lesley, Bishop of Ross. Edinburgh, 1830, 4to. This valuable relique was edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. from a MS. belonging to the earl of Leven and Melville. Prefixed is a portrait of the author, copied from an old engraving, and representing him as a man of a dignified and sagacious aspect. Of his Scottish history the Latin is not a mere translation. "The readers of this volume," as the editor has remarked, "who may take the trouble of comparing it with the Latin version, will readily perceive that the alterations made by the author on his own original sketch do not consist merely in correction and enlargement; but that, in numerous instances, he has been induced to suppress or generalize those more minute details and domestic occurrences which he may have found less susceptible of that classic attire in which he was naturally ambitious of exhibiting his historical work. In this respect, the present publication may be found to contribute some few particulars to the materials of our national history; but a still higher value will probably be attached to it as a specimen of pure and vigorous composition, in his native language, by one of the most able and accomplished Scotchmen of the sixteenth century."

SIR THOMAS CRAIG.

THIS eminent lawyer was the eldest son of Robert Craig, descended from Craig of Craigfintray, afterwards called Craighston, in the county of Aberdeen. The father followed the occupation of a merchant, and it is ascertained that he was engaged in extensive speculations.¹ He had at least other four sons, John, James, Robert, and Oliver. His wife, Catherine Bellenden, appears to have been related to Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul.² The date of his eldest son's birth is uncertain; but as he was sent to the university of St Andrews in 1552, we may suppose him to have been born about the year 1538. He was entered at St Leonard's College; a seminary which was afterwards placed under

¹ Riddell's *Remarks upon Scotch Peerage Law*, p. 164. Edinb. 1833, 8vo. He elsewhere remarks, "it is evident from the costly articles sold by Robert Craig, the feudalists' father, who was [a] burghess of Edinburgh, including gold and pearls, &c. exported by him from abroad, that he was a foreign merchant of high account." (*Additional Remarks upon the Question of the Lennox or Rusky Representation*, p. 90. Edinb. 1835, 8vo.)

² Sir John Bellenden, by his testament executed in 1576, bequeathed to his cousin Thomas Craig a yearly pension of twenty pounds, to be paid by his son Lewis, and another pension of the same amount, to be paid "for his sone James affairs." (Riddell's *Peerage Law*, p. 167.)

the direction of Buchanan, and which therefore occupies some space in the academical annals of the age. He took the degree of A. B. in the year 1555; but as his name does not occur in the list of masters, he is supposed to have left the university before he had completed the ordinary course of study.

For those who were destined for the legal profession, it was then the usual practice to finish their education in some of the French universities, which about that period attained to the highest eminence as schools of the civil and canon law. A similar practice prevailed almost universally till the earlier part of the last century; and a writer in the reign of Charles the First thought it not a little "strange to see a man admitted to teach the lawes, who was never out of the countrie studieing and learning the lawes."¹ The law of Scotland is to a great extent founded on the principles of the civil law; and without a competent knowledge of the civil law, no man can attain to a complete and masterly knowledge of the law of Scotland. At an early period, when the students of law were very few in number, the professors were without a sufficient excitement to exertion; and the Scottish youth were compelled to seek for able preceptors in other countries.² The reputation of Cujacius, Donellus, Govea, Balduinus, Contius, Hotman, and many other great names, elevated the French schools of law beyond all competition: their celebrity however was at length eclipsed by the more modern universities of Holland; and our countrymen then resorted to Leyden and Utrecht, instead of Bourges and Toulouse. Craig,

¹ Spalding's Hist. of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. i. p. 179. The individual to whom he alludes is James Sandilands, professor of the canon, and afterwards of the civil law, in King's College, Aberdeen.

² "Ea enim aetate sapere, nisi Romano jure, homines non videbantur." (Gadendam, Hist. Juris Cimbrici, p. 54. Hamb. 1770, 8vo.)

as we are informed, completed his academical studies in France, and he has himself made more than one allusion to his connexion with the university of Paris. But at Paris the civil law was not then publicly taught; and it is scarcely to be doubted that he repaired to some other university, in order to acquire a branch of knowledge which was then regarded as indispensable to a lawyer. His skill in the civil and the canon law was united with great proficiency in classical learning, for which we may conjecture that he was in no small degree indebted to the discipline of Paris, where philological studies were then cultivated with very eminent success.

Craig, having reached a vigorous manhood, was admitted an advocate in the month of February 1563. In the year 1564 he was appointed the deputy of the justice general, Archibald earl of Argyle. It belonged to his office to try the highest offences; and his name very frequently occurs in the criminal records of that period, which have lately been rendered more accessible by the labours of Mr Pitcairn. This distinguished lawyer appears to have steered a prudent course, in the midst of that turbulence and those disorders which prevailed in Scotland during a great part of his life: he appears to have devoted himself with great assiduity to the studies and duties of his profession, and, shunning the dangerous path of political ambition, to have sought a more pleasing solace of the mind in his recreations with the Muses. He published several Latin poems, which were afterwards inserted in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, and which are allowed to evince no mean portion of poetical spirit.¹ His earliest publication bears the title of "Henrici illustrissimi Ducis Albaniae, Comitis Ros-

¹ "Thomas Craigius Scotus, dum epicis regnatricem domum prosequitur, mortalitati se subducit." (Borrichii Dissertationes Academicæ de Poetis, p. 151. Francof. 1683, 4to.) Of his literary attainments Dempster speaks in the most favourable terms: "Nobili utriusque linguae cognitione imbutus, magna lectionis varietate, judi-

siae, &c. et Mariae serenissimae Scotorum Reginae Epithalamium." Impressum Edinburgi per Robertum Lekprevik, 1565, 8vo. This poem, relating to a very inauspicious subject, is not inserted in the collection. Here we find another poem, entitled "Jacobi serenissimi Scotorum Principis, Ducis Rothesaiae, Genethliacum," which must likewise have been printed, although we have not been able to trace it, in a separate form.

About ten years after he was called to the bar, he married Helen Hamilton, described as the *oy*, that is, either niece or grand-daughter, of Robert Richardson, commendator of St Mary's Isle. Their marriage-contract was executed on the 31st of October 1573. Her portion was to consist of two thousand marks; and certain parcels of land, within the barony of Crichton, were to be settled upon her, in conjunct fee, by her future husband and his father. Richardson had been high treasurer of the kingdom, and was a man of wealth and influence.¹ This marriage was dissolved by the premature death of the wife, which is ascertained to have taken place before the 12th of December 1575. She left more than one child.² His second wife was Helen Heriot, daughter to Heriot of Trabroun in the county of Haddington.³ She had the honour of being relat-

cio summo, comitate mirabili, ut uno verbo dicam, eruditissimis criticis aut jurisconsultis in Europa conferendus."

¹ Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State, p. 383. According to this writer, Richardson died in 1571; but he was a party to Craig's marriage-contract in 1573, and survived for at least three years. To his natural son James Richardson he granted charters of several demesnes in 1573, 1575, and 1576. (Record of the Great Seal, lib. xxxiv. No. 107, 305, 459.)

² Riddell's Peerage Law, p. 165.

³ Under the date of May 26, 1590, we find on record an action brought by Marion Crichton, proprietress of Lathamounth, and her husband John Towris of Inverleith, against Thomas Craig, Advocate, and Helen Heriot his wife. (Acts and Decrees of Council

ed to Buchanan, whose mother, Agnes Heriot, belonged to this family.

His eldest son Sir Lewis Craig, who was probably a descendant of the first marriage, was raised to the bench in 1604 or 1605 by the title of Lord Wrightslands.¹ It was then customary for the judges to wear their hats on the bench; but whenever Craig had occasion to plead before his son, the latter sat uncovered, and listened to him with filial reverence. We may reasonably suppose that the same interest which had raised the son, might as easily have raised the father to the bench; but the modesty of his disposition perhaps led him to prefer a less elevated station;² nor is it improbable that the salary of a judge would not have equalled the emoluments of his extensive practice, added to those of his different appointments. He is not mentioned as the deputy of the justice general after the close of the year 1573: in the course of the following year he appears as sheriff of Edinburgh; and he is supposed to have resigned the one office on being nominated to the other. At a much later period, namely in 1606, he is described as advocate of the church. And this seems to complete the catalogue of his regular preferments, but we likewise find his name inserted in occasional commissions of importance.

The greatest of his literary labours was his treatise on the feudal law. Such an undertaking was at that period attended with many difficulties. The municipal law had and Session, vol. cxxiv. p. 393.) For this notice, as well as for several others, I am indebted to the politeness of John Riddell, Esq. Advocate.

¹ Brunton & Haig's Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, p. 244. Edinb. 1832, 8vo.

² "Ipse vero," says Dempster, "ut alter Maecenas, cum summa posset capessere, mediocribus fuit contentus, et advocacionis munus quam sustinuit feliciter, quam meruit submisit." (Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 197.)

not received any considerable degree of cultivation : systematic treatises it possessed few or none ; written authorities of every kind were scanty and inaccessible ; and the collecting of materials must therefore have been not a little tedious and laborious. The feudal law, in its general principles, was taught in the foreign universities as a necessary branch of jurisprudence, and the foreign lawyers, particularly those of Italy and France, had published a great variety of works on the subject ; but it was Craig's special object to illustrate the principles of that law as they had been applied and modified in his native country, and in this department he was without a model and without a precursor. It is not therefore surprising, though it may justly be regretted, that he was unable to amass such a stock of materials as prepared him for throwing a clear and steady light on the progress of feudal rights and tenures from the earliest times. The character of his work is likewise affected by his patriotic zeal to facilitate the union of the two kingdoms, by assimilating their national laws and customs. " Sir Thomas Craig," says another able jurist, " who is always instructive when he describes the feudal customs of his own times, is seldom so when he goes back into history."¹ This remark of Dr Stuart appears to be sufficiently just and discriminating. The value and importance of Craig's *Jus Feudale* is however admitted by every competent judge, nor has it been superseded by any subsequent treatise : with the exception of Bruce's compendium, no professed work on the same subject has since made its appearance.² The author was evidently a man of superior talents, as well as of extensive learning ; and it may per-

¹ Stuart's Observations concerning the Public Law, and the Constitutional History of Scotland, p. 163. Edinb. 1779, 8vo.

² Principia Juris Feudalis, auctore Alexandro Brussio, Jcto. Edinb. 1713, 8vo.

haps be affirmed, without much hazard of refutation, that no other Scottish lawyer can so safely be brought into comparison with Lord Stair.

Craig did not himself commit his elaborate work to the press; and indeed the printing of any treatise on the law of Scotland seems then to have been considered as almost entirely out of the question. Soon after his death, the privy council entreated the king to assist and further the impression of his works; and after an interval of two years, they repeated the same earnest request.¹ "The assurance given to us of your majesties good pleasure and will to have the workes of umquhile Maister Thomas Craig (yet unpublished) to be perused and seene, hes given us the hardiment now after exact consideration had be us of the same, to commend them to your maiesties most gracious patronage, whilk we the more boldly have undertaken to do, in regaird we find the same to containe most excellent matter, eloquently penned be the author, who most learnedly hes not only expressed himself in his bookes *De Feudis*, but also hes left honourable monuments in his poemes written in honour of your maiesties self, your royall progenitours, your maiesties most excellent queene, and the prince his grace, your highnes sonne, all of themselves worthy to be imparted to the aig present and posteritie, and not so to be shaddowed up in perishing scrolles. The publishing whereof cannot but beget honourable credite to this your maiesties kingdome, and profitable good to the subjects of the same." But all these suggestions proved ineffectual; and nearly half a century after the death of the author, his treatise on the feudal law was published by Robert Burnet, who had married his grand-daughter. "*Jus Feudale, tribus libris comprehensum; quibus non solum Consuetudines Feudales, et Prædiorum Jura, quæ in Scotia, Anglia, et plerisque Galliae*

¹ State Papers, and Miscellaneous Correspondence of Thomas, Earl of Melros, vol. i. p. 43, 84. Edinb. 1837, 2 vols. 4to.

locis obtinent, continentur, sed universum Jus Scotticum, et omnes fere materiae Juris clare et dilucide exponuntur, et ad Fontes Juris Feudalis et Civilis singula reducuntur." Edinb. 1655, fol. Some copies bear the imprint of London. The editor has prefixed a preface, in which he speaks with learning and judgment of the author and his work. After a long interval appeared another edition, "cum prae-fatione Lüderi Menckenii, J.Cti." Lipsiae, 1716, 4to. This was speedily followed by the latest and best edition; "editio tertia, prioribus multo emendatio, opera et studio Jacobi Baillie, Advocati." Edinb. 1732, fol. Prefixed is an excellent portrait of the author, together with a short account of his life; and the typography of the edition is greatly superior to that of the other two.¹ Of this work there are two manuscript copies in the Advocates Library, and likewise two copies of "A Compend or Breviarie of the most substantiall Poynts relating to the Law: extracted forth of the bookes of that learned jurisconsult D. T. C. treating upon the Feudall Law."

Another ample and elaborate work, undertaken about the same period, is his treatise entitled "De Jure Successionis Regni Angliae libri duo, adversus Sophismata cujusdam personati Dolomanni, quibus non solum Jura Successionis in Regnis, sed etiam ipsorum Regum sacro-sanctam Authoritatem nititur evertere." Under the assumed name of

¹ Baillie having subjected himself to some pecuniary inconvenience by the publication of this work, the faculty of advocates voted him a gratuity of thirty pounds; "and it being further represented that the original book itself was one of the prime standard books of the Scottish law, and that this edition was vastly more correct, and had several other advantages above the former editions, it was therefore warmly recommended to the members of the faculty that they, as well for their own sakes as that of the publisher, would purchase copies of it." (Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*: Collections illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 169. Edinb. 1834-7, 2 vols. 8vo.)

Dolman, Robert Parsons had in the year 1594 published "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England;" in which he chiefly aimed at superseding the claims of a protestant successor to Queen Elizabeth. Although he did not proceed on the same philosophical principles, he arrived at a similar conclusion with Buchanan; namely, that all political power is derived from the people, and that the consent of the governed is an essential ingredient in all legitimate governments. The right of resisting kings was boldly taught by other Jesuits, and particularly by Mariana, well known as the historian of Spain;¹ but all their better speculations are mingled with Jesuitical notions of priestly power. Craig, adhering to the prevalent doctrines respecting the divine right of kings and the passive obedience of subjects, has at great length discussed the subject of regal succession and authority. Such a production cannot now be regarded as of much importance; but of so able a man, intimately acquainted with history, and with jurisprudence in all its branches, the labour could not be entirely fruitless. Parsons was likewise refuted by Peter Wentworth, Sir John Hayward, and other English writers.

King James succeeded very quietly to the throne of England, and the original of Craig's treatise *De Jure Successionis* it was not thought necessary to publish. Various manuscripts of it have however been preserved: one belongs to the Advocates Library, another to the University Library, and a third to the writer of this brief notice. The second of these Gatherer describes as the original manuscript. The author's doctrines were afterwards found very palatable by the Jacobites; and the design of printing the work was formed by Dr Monro, who was principal of the

¹ Joannis Marianae Hispani, e Soc. Iesu, de Rege et Regis Institutione libri III. ad Philippum III. Hispaniae Regem Catholicum. Toleti, 1599, 4to. The zeal of Mariana, as the reader may easily conjecture, is only directed against heretical kings.

university of Edinburgh at the period of the Revolution. He lost his preferments in the church and the university, and being otherwise involved in the troubles of his party, he did not live to carry this design into execution. From the transcript which he had procured, a translation was however made by his friend James Gatherer, who, before the Revolution, had been parson of Kilmaurs in Ayrshire, and who having at length become a bishop among the non-jurors, died in the month of February 1733.¹ One biographer has been too liberal in conferring upon him, and upon divers other divines, the degree of doctor. This translation bears the title of "The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England, in two books, against the Sophisms of Parsons the Jesuite, who assum'd the counterfeit name of Doleman; by which he endeavours to overthrow not only the Rights of Succession in Kingdoms, but also the sacred Authority of Kings themselves: written originally in Latin about 100 years since, by the eminently learned and judicious Sir Thomas Craig of Riccartoun, the celebrated author of the *Jus Feudale*, and now faithfully translated into English, with a large index of the contents, and a preface by the translator, giving an account of the author and his adversary." Lond. 1703, fol.

Of a similar denomination is Craig's work entitled "*De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*;" which relates to a subject of great interest to his contemporaries, and which is written with the author's usual learning and ability. "In point of matter and style," says Mr Tytler, "in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it perhaps deserves to rank the high-

¹ See Bishop Russell's edition of Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 531. Edinb. 1824, 8vo.

est of all his works.”¹ This treatise has never been printed; but a manuscript, extending to 264 pages in folio, is preserved in the Advocates Library. On the same subject two Latin disquisitions were published by Robert Pont, D. D. who was at once a presbyterian minister, and a judge in the supreme court; and by David Hume of Godscroft, who is well known for his other writings in prose and verse. Craig performed another patriotic task, by preparing a work which bears the following title: “*De Hominio Disputatio adversus eos qui Scotiam Feudum Ligium Angliae, Regemque Scotorum eo nomine Hominium Anglo debere asserunt.*” This work is likewise preserved in manuscript in the same great library; but long after the death of the author, a translation of it was published under the title of “*Scotland’s Sovereignty asserted: being a Dispute concerning Homage, against those who maintain that Scotland is a Feu or Fee-Liege of England, and that therefore the King of Scots owes Homage to the King of England, &c.: translated from the Latin manuscript, and a preface added, with a short account of the learned author, and a confutation of that homage said to be performed by Macolm III. King of Scotland, to Edward the Confessor, lately found in the archives of England, and published in a single sheet by Mr Rymer, the King’s Historiographer: by Geo. Ridpath.*” Lond. 1695, 8vo. Craig had vindicated the independence of the Scottish monarchy against the imputations of the English historians, particularly Holinshed, or his coadjutor Harrison; and the more recent attempt of Rymer is allowed to have been sufficiently repelled by Ridpath, who has shewn that the supposed form of ancient homage bears several unequivocal marks of forgery. His publication was however followed by Atwood’s “*Superiority and direct Dominion of the Crown of*

¹ Tytler’s Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig, p. 294. Edinb. 1823, 12mo.

England over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland, asserted against Sir Thomas Craig." Lond. 1704, 8vo. This book was refuted by Anderson in 1705; and the superiority of the crown of England was reasserted by Atwood in the course of the same year.

Archbishop Nicolson mentions an historical production of the same learned author. "I have likewise seen an abstract of a book on the same subject, by Master Tho. Craig, the great civilian, entitled *De Scotorum Origine*; but where the book it self may be found, I know not."¹ And here we complete the enumeration of his writings in prose.

Towards the close of his life, he again indulged his poetical vein. He wrote some commendatory verses, which are prefixed to Thomas Jack's "Onomasticon Poeticum." Edinb. 1592, 4to. And seven years later, he wrote a short elegy on the death of Rollock, which, with many similar contributions, is subjoined to George Robertson's "Vitae et Mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti Narratio." Edinb. 1599, 8vo. During one and the same year, he published three different poems. "Ad sereniss. et potentiss. Principem Iacobum Sextum, e sua Scotia decedentem, Paræneticon." Excudebat Robertus Waldegrave, 1603, 4to. "Ad serenissimum Britanniarum Principem Henricum, e

¹ Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 15. Lond. 1702, 8vo. This learned prelate, who was successively bishop of Carlisle and Derry, and archbishop of Cashel, has frequently mentioned Craig in terms of high commendation. "I do still profess my self," he elsewhere remarks, "to have an extraordinary veneration and esteem for the memory of that excellent writer, and can therefore very readily allow Mr Atwood to call him a favourite author. Such, I do acknowledge, he is with me; and 'tis not impossible but I may, in the warmth of my affection, have express'd a more kind opinion of his performances, than my nicer adversary thinks he deserves." (*Leges Marchiarum*, or Border Laws, pref. Lond. 1705, 8vo.) Yorke describes him as "a very able and elegant writer on the law of feuds," and as "a great writer." (Some Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture for High Treason, p. 71-4, third edit. Lond. 1748, 8vo.)

Scotia discedentem, Propempticon." Edinburgi, excudebat Robertus Charteris, 1603, 4to. "*Serenissimi et invictissimi Principis, Iacobi Britanniarum et Galliarum Regis, Στεφανοφορία.*" Excudebat Robertus Charteris, 1603, 4to.

In the year 1604, Craig was nominated among the Scottish commissioners empowered to treat respecting the projected union of the two kingdoms. One of his associates was Sir John Skene, who had likewise contributed to illustrate the jurisprudence of his native country. The Scottish and the English commissioners met at Westminster, but it is well known that their deliberations were not attended with any important consequences. Many prejudices were to subside, and many fierce contentions to be assuaged, before this great and salutary measure could be accomplished. This visit afforded him an opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with Camden, and other learned men; and the king bestowed upon him one of those honours which at that time, as well as at the present time, had begun to be held in little estimation on account of their indiscriminate distribution. James determined to elevate him to the rank of knighthood; but instead of aspiring to this distinction, he secretly withdrew himself, in order to avoid the intended ceremony. The king however knighted him in his absence; and accordingly his name is generally accompanied with a title which he himself had no wish to assume.

Sir Thomas Craig died on the 26th of February 1608. His death was bewailed in Latin verse by his learned countryman Dempster, who, like himself, was a poet as well as a lawyer. He left behind him an estimable character and a fair estate. He is celebrated for his liberal style of hospitality, and, what is of higher moment, for his zealous adherence to the protestant faith. He had four sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Craig, whom we have already mentioned as his eldest son, died in the year 1622. The second, James Craig of Castle-Craig and Craigston in the kingdom of Ireland, was killed during the insurrection of

1641; and dying without issue, he bequeathed his estates to his next brother, John Craig, who was successively physician in ordinary to King James, and first physician to King Charles.¹ The youngest son was Robert Craig, whose son acquired by marriage the estate of Ramorny in Fifeshire. Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas, became the wife of Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie; and from this marriage is descended the present possessor of the estate of Riccarton, Sir James Gibson Craig, Bart. Elizabeth, his second daughter, married James Johnston of Warriston; and their son Sir Archibald Johnston acted a conspicuous part in the proceedings of his own unhappy times: their daughter Rachel was married to Robert Burnet of Crimond, a judge in the court of session, the father of Gilbert Burnet, the celebrated bishop of Salisbury, and of Sir Thomas Burnet, an eminent physician in Edinburgh. Craig's third daughter, Janet, was married to John Belches of Tofts, and their son, Sir Alexander Belches, was likewise raised to the bench.

¹ Craig, a Scottish doctor of physic who had taken his degree at Basel, was incorporated at Oxford on the 21st of October 1605. It is not however certain that this was the same individual. Dr Craig, one of the king's physicians, died in April 1620. (Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, part i. c. 310.) According to Baillie's account, the other Dr Craig was living in 1641.

ADAM BLACKWOOD.

BLACKWOOD, who is chiefly remembered as the antagonist of Buchanan and the defender of Queen Mary, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1539. His father, William Blackwood, was a gentleman by birth; his mother, Helen Reid, was the grand-daughter of John Reid of Aikenhead, by a sister of John Schanwell, abbot of Cupar. *Her grandfather was slain in the fatal field of Floddon. Robert Reid, her uncle, was abbot of Kinloss, and commendator of Beaulieu priory; he became bishop of Orkney in 1541, and was afterwards appointed president of the court of session. He was much engaged in the public transactions of the age, and appears to have been a prelate of a liberal and munificent disposition. In addition to the benefactions which during his life he had conferred upon his monastery and cathedral, he bequeathed at his death a considerable sum of money, eight thousand marks, for the foundation of a college in the metropolis. He has therefore the best claim to be regarded as the founder of the university of Edinburgh.¹

¹ Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 223. Brunton and Haig's Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, p. 14. Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 355. The virtues of Reid are highly extolled by Adam Elder, a monk of Kinloss. (*Adami Senioris, Scoti, Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis, Monasterii Kynlossensis, ad reverendum in Christo Patrem ac Dominum Robertum Reid, Orchadum Praesulem, Strenae,*

The father of Adam Blackwood was slain in battle, before he had himself reached the tenth year of his age ; and his mother, overwhelmed with grief, did not long survive this calamity. The bishop of Orkney undertook the charge of his education, and at a proper age sent him to the university of Paris. Here he had the great advantage of being placed under the tuition of Turnebus and Auratus, or Dorat, two professors of eminent learning. The former stands in the first rank of modern scholars. The latter was conspicuous for his admiration of the Greek and Latin poets, and for the enthusiasm with which he expounded their works. Under such instructors as these, he made no mean progress in solid and elegant literature ; nor did Dorat fail to inspire him with an ardent love of poetry, which he retained during the last years of his life. His exercises both in prose and verse procured him much applause. At the age of nineteen, he had the misfortune to lose his relation and benefactor, who died at Dieppe on the 15th of September 1558.¹ Bishop Reid, together with the earls of Cassilis and Rothes and Lord Fleming, had visited France for the purpose of witnessing the nuptials of their youthful queen ; and as all these commissioners, as well as several of their attendants, had been overtaken by one common and sudden destiny,²

sive *Conciones Capitulares*, p. 136. Paris. 1558, 4to.) These capitular lectures had been delivered to the monks of Kinloss and Beaulieu, when he presided over the schools of the two monasteries ; and of the monastic literature of that era which produced the reformation, his volume supplies us with a specimen. In the capacity of a tutor, he afterwards accompanied to Paris the bishop's youthful nephew, Walter Reid, who had succeeded to the abbacy of Kinloss. A commendatory poem by Henry Blackwood is prefixed to Elder's work.

¹ Gordon's *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 137. Edinb. 1813, fol.

² Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Hist.* p. 310. The historian mentions Reid and the other commissioners as "*omnes summa virtute et caritate patriam.*"

a very strong suspicion was excited of their having been sacrificed by the bloody house of Guise, on account of their strenuous opposition to some of its ambitious projects.

Soon after the bishop's death, he returned to Scotland, where however he did not long remain, for the munificence of the queen enabled him to resume his academical career at Paris. He now applied himself to the study of mathematics and philosophy; and so general were his pursuits that they even extended to the oriental languages. As a student of law, he resided two years in the university of Toulouse; and on returning to Paris, he sought for employment as a teacher of philosophy. About this period of his life, he published his earliest works, his poem on the death of Charles the Ninth,¹ and his first two books on the connexion of religion and government.² A third book was subsequently added. This prose work he dedicated to his benefactress the queen of Scotland. What religious precepts may be expected from a writer that did not blush to extol such a monster as Charles, whose name is inseparably connected with the most atrocious deed recorded in the annals of modern times, it is not very difficult to form a conjecture. The general strain of the poem may be understood from one brief specimen.

Ut coram venere, parenti

Commendant traduntque Jovi: fert oscula natae,

Oscula fert Carlo, tenerisque amplexibus hærens,

¹ Caroli IX. Pompa Funebris versiculis expressa per A.B. J. C. Paris. 1574, 8vo. The initials J. C. denote Juris Consultum. Blackwood had probably resumed his juridical studies at Paris, and taken the degree of LL.D.

² De Conjunctione Religionis et Imperii libri duo, quibus conjunctionum traducuntur insidiae fuco religionis adumbratae. Ad illustrissimam serenissimamque principem, D. Mariam Scotiae Reginam, et Galliae Dotariam. Paris. 1575, 8vo. The author's name is inserted at the head of the dedication, which is dated at Paris. Here he does not describe himself as a judge; and we may therefore conjecture that his promotion took place between 1575 and 1581.

Gratus, ait, nostris succedis sedibus hospes ;
 Religio tua nota mihi, constantia, virtus,
 Afflictisque fides rebus ; coelestia dona
 Coelo te reddunt, et quisquis numina terris
 Defendet, vetitis cum coelum provocat armis
 Impietas, regnis inhians auroque, scelestas.

His literary talents and popish zeal recommended him to the favour of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who then resided in France as the queen's ambassador ; and at the suggestion of this prelate, she bestowed upon him the office of a counsellor, that is, judge, of the parliament of Poitiers. The province of Poitou had been assigned to her for the payment of her dowry. Her letters patent were confirmed by the French king, Henry the Third ; and Blackwood, whose education had rendered him perfectly familiar with the language of the country, was without hesitation admitted to this honourable office. Dr Mackenzie is evidently mistaken in asserting that he was likewise appointed professor of the civil law in the university of Poitiers.¹

Here he married Catherine Courtinier, whose father was "procureur du roi" in that city. On fixing his residence at Poitiers, and devoting himself to a new employment, he did not entirely relinquish his favourite pursuits. He provided a library suitable to his improved circumstances, and successively prepared a variety of works. The first of these was sufficiently connected with his studies as a lawyer : it is an answer to the eloquent and masterly dialogue of Buchanan on the rights of the crown of Scotland.² Blackwood's answer, the earliest that made its appearance, is written with no mean portion of talent or learning, and it displays abundant zeal in the sacred cause of kings. But

¹ Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. p. 488. Ruddiman's Vindication of Buchanan, p. 124.

² *Adversus Georgii Buchanani Dialogum, de Jure Regni apud Scotos, pro Regibus Apologia, per Adamum Blacvodaem, Senatorem apud Pictavos. Pictavis, 1581, 4to. Parisiis, 1586, 8vo.*

as to the comparative excellence of the two authors, what is the impartial judgment of posterity? The merits of the one are not very frequently brought under discussion. Of the other, Sir James Mackintosh speaks in the following terms: "The science which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought was Buchanan, and he too seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable tract, *De Jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."² In the progress of his work, Blackwood has treated his antagonist with abundant severity, on account of his religion as well as his politics; but in a poem prefixed to the *Apologia*, he mentions his poetical talents in terms of due applause.

Si tu Mœonii premeres vestigia cœni,
 Si tu Thebanæ plectra sonora lyrae,
 Si tu Veroni festiva poemata vatis
 Tractares, thyrsos liberiorè jocans,
 Quis genio, Buchanane, tuo certare valeret,
 Si Phœbo dignos persequerere modos?

Blackwood inscribed his work to the queen and to her son. To this unfortunate princess, who nominated him a privy councillor, he seems to have retained a strong sense

² Mackintosh's *Defence of the French Revolution*, p. 308.

of gratitude.¹ In the hope of rendering her some material service during her captivity, he made more than one voyage to England; and soon after her tragical death, he published a long account of her treatment, with a zealous vindication of her character.² He who had written the Apotheosis of Charles the Ninth, might in some respects be well prepared to write a defence of Queen Mary's honour. If on such an occasion as this his zeal is more conspicuous than his discretion, we can easily find some excuse for his conduct. The enemies of the queen are bitterly reviled;³ and it may well be supposed that his vengeance is chiefly directed against Elizabeth, whom he places among the vilest of the human race. Having in plain prose recommended a general crusade of Christian princes against this foul murderess, he subjoins two Latin epigrams, written in a style of the most intense vituperation. On the English Jesabel he composed various other poems, in French as well Latin.

¹ Blackwood translated one of Mary's French poems into Latin hexameters. (*Poemata*, p. 81. *Opera*, p. 478.)

² *Martyre de la Royne d'Escosse, Dousriere de France: contenant le vray discours des traïsons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabet Angloise, par lequel les mensonges, calomnies, et faulses accusations dressées contre ceste tresvertueuse, trescatholique, et tresillustre princesse son esclarcies, et son innocence averée.* A Edimbourg, chez Jean Nafeild, 1587, 8vo. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the book was not printed at Edinburgh, and that the name of the publisher is fictitious. It was reprinted in 1588, and again in 1589. It is to be found in the collection of Jebb, *De Vita et Rebus gestis Mariæ Scotorum Reginae Autores sedecim*, tom. ii. p. 175. Lond. 1725, 2 tom. fol.

³ Knox he describes as "vray membre et apostre de Satan, apostat, paillard, et inceste, comme estoit le Corinthien duquel parle S. Paul." (*Martyre*, p. 77.) In another of his works we find the subsequent passage: "Knoxius, præter veteres pellices et concubinas, duas duxit, nec contentus uxore, uxoris quoque matrem ex Anglia profugam a marito distraxit." (*De Conjunctione Religionis et Imperii*, f. 67. b.)

His next publication is of a different denomination ; it is a small collection of pious meditations in prose and verse.¹ In the year 1604 he paid another visit to London ; and having been presented to the king, he was honoured with a very gracious reception. In the royal library, James directed his attention to a copy of the book which he had dedicated to his majesty. He afterwards published a poem on the king's succession to the English throne.² A pious meditation followed, after an interval of two years.³ His last publication was a small volume of poems, which had partly been printed in a separate form.⁴ Among other literary schemes, he projected a continuation of Boyce's history of Scotland ; but this work he did not live to complete, nor was his situation peculiarly favourable for such an undertaking. All his labours and all his projects were brought to a termination in the year 1613. He had enjoyed the blessing of good health, and he reached the mature age of seventy-four. His wife bore him four sons and seven daughters. One of his sons became a judge of the same court ; another perished in battle during the civil wars of France. One of Blackwood's daughters was married to his countryman George Crichton, doctor of the canon law, royal professor of Greek in the university of Paris. After the death of her first husband, she became the wife of François de la Mothe le Vayer.⁵ Of

¹ *Sanctarum Precationum Prooemia, seu mavis, Ejaculationes Animae ad Orandum se praeferant.* Per Adam. Blacvodaem, Regis apud Pictones in Praesidali Curia Consiliarium. Augustoriti Pictorum, 1598, 12mo. Aug. Pict. 1606, 16to.

² *Inauguratio Jacobi Magnae Britanniae Regis.* Paris. 1606, 8vo. (Niceron, *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xxii. p. 47.) I have not seen this separate edition.

³ In Psalmum Davidis quinquagesimum, cujus initium est, *Miserere mei Deus*, Adami Blacvodaeci Meditatio. Aug. Pict. 1608, 16to.

⁴ *Varii generis Poematia.* Per Adam. Blacvodaem, in Praesidali Pictorum Consessu, et in Metropolitano Decurionum Collegio Consiliarium. Pictavis, 1609, 16to.

⁵ *Sorberiana*, p. 224. Paris, 1694, 12mo. According to Sorbieri,

his other children I find no memorials ; and it is probable that the family of Monsieur Blacvod is no longer to be traced in France.

An elegant edition of his works in Latin and French, was published thirty-one years after his death.¹ It includes an elaborate elogium of the author, written by Gabriel Naudé, whose name is not unknown in the republic of letters. The strain of this composition is so panegyric, and the style so declamatory, that it is by no means an easy task to extricate the material facts of Blackwood's life, or the distinctive parts of his character. The general result however is, that he was a man distinguished by his personal worth, as well as by his talents and learning.

Two of his brothers were likewise educated at Paris, and rendered themselves conspicuous by their attainments in literature.² Henry Blackwood taught philosophy in that university about the year 1551 ; and having taken the degree of M. D. he afterwards established himself as a physician. His son, who bore the same name, and followed the same profession, became professor of physic in the Royal College, and died at Rouen in the year 1634.³ Another learned

the second husband derived some advantage from the papers of the first. "Le Vayer eût ses recueils, dont il a sçu faire son profit."

Adami Blacvodaeci, in Curia Praesidiali Pictonum, et Urbis in Decurionum Collegio, Regis Consilarii, Opera omnia. Paris. 1644, 4to. The volume contains a portrait of the author by Picart. He appears in his official robes.

* "Non infoecunda doctissimorum virorum Scotia, tres aetate superiori Blacvodaecos protulit, qui miro fraternae consentionis exemplo, innatam genti suae, ad difficiliore obscurioresque scientias pertinacibus studiis excolendas, propensione, praeclara cum Eucharanis, Leslaeis, Balforeis, Dempsteris, Critoniis, aliisque amoenioris doctrinae viris, aemulatione suscepta, pari cum illis humaniorum literarum cultura temperarent." (Adami Blacvodaeci Elogium, auctore Gabriele Naudaeo) See likewise Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 116.

³ Moreri, Dictionnaire Historique, tom. ii. p. 489. Biographie

brother of the counsellor was George Blackwood, who taught philosophy at Paris about the year 1571 ; but having subsequently entered into holy orders, he obtained considerable preferment in the French church.

Universelle, tom. iv. p. 549. According to this last authority, the younger Henry Blackwood "était un homme de beaucoup de talent, mais très inconstant, philosophe, orateur, médecin, soldat, courtisan, voyageur, et intrigant dans tous ces états." There is a portrait of him drawn and engraved by Mellan. He published an edition of Hippocratis *Coi Prognosticorum libri tres, ad veterum exemplarium fidem emendati et recogniti*. Paris. 1625, 24to. The editor's name appears at the head of a short preface : "Henricus Blacvodaëus, Medicus et Professor Regius, lectori philiatro." His edition, extending to 83 pages, contains no annotations, and no Latin version.

ANDREW MELVILLE.

ANDREW MELVILLE, a divine of distinguished talents and learning, was born at Baldovy in Forfarshire on the 1st of August 1545. His father, Richard Melville, was brother to Melville of Dysart, and was thus connected with a family which boasted its descent from the blood royal, although the genealogical lines do not seem to be very distinctly traced. His mother was Giles, the daughter of Thomas Abercromby, a burgess of Montrose. In the immediate vicinity of this town the father possessed the small demesne of Baldovy, and might have been able to rear his family with sufficient credit and comfort, but having been called to arms in the ordinary course of feudal service, he was slain at the disastrous battle of Pinkey, fought on the 10th of September 1547. Andrew, the youngest of nine sons, had only completed the second year of his age ; and his mother having died in the course of that year, the care of the orphan boy devolved upon his eldest brother Richard, who afterwards became minister of the adjacent parish of Marytoun. The place of both parents was fully supplied by this brother and his wife, who reared him with the most affectionate care. When he reached a mature age, he frequently recounted in terms of the warmest gratitude the many instances of maternal tenderness and fondness which he had experienced from his excellent sister-in-law. As he was a sickly child, and discovered great aptitude for learning, his guardian

adopted the fortunate resolution of securing to him all the attainable advantages of a liberal education. He was accordingly removed to Montrose school, of which Thomas Anderson, afterwards the protestant minister of the parish, was at that time master. Here he was instructed in the rudiments of the Latin language ; and as bodily exercise was duly intermingled with his more sedentary avocations, his constitution acquired a much firmer tone, and he afterwards enjoyed a large share of good health.

In the year 1559 he was sent to the university of St Andrews, where he became a student in St Mary's College, and greatly distinguished himself by his early proficiency in classical learning. At that period the course of literature and philosophy chiefly consisted of lectures on Aristotle's logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics ; but this course must have been rendered very defective by the circumstance of the professor's being altogether unacquainted with the original text, and being thus reduced to the necessity of commenting upon Latin translations or compendiums. Melville was dissatisfied with this imperfect method of procedure, and applied himself so assiduously to the study of Greek, that he was speedily enabled to read in that language all the texts of Aristotle to which the college lectures referred. To what preceptor he was indebted for private instructions, or whether he solely relied on his own exertions, we are not sufficiently informed. It is however certain that he acquired no small reputation by his proficiency in a department of elegant learning which was then so little cultivated ; and it may here be recorded to the credit of his masters, that they warmly encouraged him to tread in a path in which they themselves could not lead, and in which they were scarcely prepared to follow. The provost of St Mary's, John Douglas, who was likewise rector of the university, treated him with paternal kindness, and seems to have entertained some anticipation of his eminence in letters. In this college there were separate classes for grammar and

rhetoric ; and there were also lectures by the law professor, which the students might attend before taking their higher degree. Of all the public and private opportunities of improvement Melville seems to have availed himself to the utmost extent ; and he left this university with the reputation of "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land."¹ It would therefore appear that he had already displayed those talents for Latin poetry which were afterwards so conspicuous. The unrivalled celebrity of Buchanan must have had a strong tendency to excite the emulation of his young and ingenuous countryman. Melville speaks of this illustrious man as having been his preceptor ; but whether the expression is to be understood according to its literal signification, we cannot so easily ascertain. In 1561 Buchanan returned to his native country, and in 1567 he became principal of St Leonard's College ; but the young scholar had then quitted the university, and could therefore receive no instructions from him at St Andrews.

In the autumn of 1564, when he had completed the nineteenth year of his age, he proceeded to Paris with the view of prosecuting his studies in a place which afforded much greater opportunities of intellectual improvement. That university had then attained to the height of its celebrity, and the reported number of students who frequented it seems almost to exceed belief : Joseph Scaliger mentions that, during his own residence, it contained the astonishing number of thirty thousand. Melville enjoyed the eminent advantage of hearing the prelections of Turnebus, professor of Greek in the Royal College. He had thus an excellent opportunity of being initiated in the critical study of classical authors ; and under the guidance of Mercier and Quinquarboreus, conjunct professors of Hebrew and Chaldee, he applied himself with equal assiduity to the acquisition of

¹ The Diary of James Melville, p. 31. Edinb. 1829, 4to.

those languages. Nor did he neglect the lectures of Ramus, royal professor of Roman eloquence ; who had greatly distinguished himself by his strenuous opposition to the philosophy of Aristotle, and who seems to have given a considerable impulse to the minds of his contemporaries. He likewise studied under several other professors, whose names are mentioned by his nephew ; nor did he confine his views to one or two departments of science or literature ; mathematics, law, and physic, all succeeded each other in due order. Till a much later period, the civil law was not regularly and publicly taught in the university of Paris, but a dispensation for teaching it was occasionally obtained ; and it was at that time taught by Balduinus, or Baudouin, a very eminent civilian, who numbered this ardent youth among his pupils. During the second year of his residence, he had attained to such proficiency in the Greek language, that he was able to speak it with great fluency and copiousness.

Having thus made a large accession to his stock of learning, he quitted Paris in the year 1566, and repaired to the university of Poitiers, where he prosecuted the study of law. Here he was appointed a regent in the College of St Marceon ; and though he was only twenty-one years of age, he appears to have acquitted himself with the highest credit. But the renewal of the civil wars, by which France was so long devastated, speedily rendered his situation uncertain and perilous. In the year 1568 the city was besieged by a protestant army under Coligny, and was defended by a popish garrison under the duke of Guise. The business of the university was necessarily suspended, and Melville was then engaged by a counsellor of the parliament, in the capacity of tutor to his only son. He was a boy of an amiable disposition, and of promising talents, but the fond hopes of his parents and of his preceptor were very suddenly blasted : he was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, and Melville found him weltering in his blood. He had received lessons

of piety as well as literature, and with his dying breath he testified his affection for his instructor ; who to the latest period of his life retained a very lively and tender recollection of his young friend, so prematurely lost. The casualties of war were not the only dangers to which he was exposed : a corporal who was stationed in the house with a few soldiers, having observed his habits of devotion, concluded that he must be a Huguenot, and expressed an opinion that he might be disposed to betray the city to the enemy ; but he had sufficient address and presence of mind to dissipate all his suspicions, nor was he again subjected to any similar annoyance. The siege having at length been raised, he quitted Poitiers, after a residence of three years, and directed his course towards Geneva.

Leaving behind him his books and other effects, and fixing a small Hebrew Bible in his girdle, he began his journey in company with a Frenchman. They travelled on foot, and our countryman proceeded with great alacrity ; for, as his nephew informs us, "he was small and light of body, but full of spirit, vigorous and courageous." On reaching the place of his destination, he immediately waited upon Beza ; and his first appearance made so favourable an impression, that he was at once considered as a person well qualified to fill the humanity chair, which at that time happened to be vacant. Within a few days after his arrival, he so ably performed the probationary exercises in Homer and Virgil, that he was without hesitation admitted to the professorship. A quarter's salary, paid by advance, came very seasonably to his aid ; for when the two travellers reached the gates of the city, they could scarcely muster a crown between them ; and his own necessities being thus relieved, he was enabled to support his less fortunate companion till he found some more permanent provision.

Geneva was at this momentous crisis a most conspicuous bulwark of the reformation. The territories of the state were very circumscribed, and its resources proportionally

limited ; but the virtue of the people, with the wisdom and energy of its rulers, secured to this little republic a more honourable fame than power or arms could have bestowed. It afforded an asylum to many of the persecuted protestants, who rendered its walls venerable by their piety and learning. The academy of Geneva, which was a university without the name, could boast of various professors of the highest reputation. Calvin, the first professor of divinity, was distinguished by his genius and eloquence, as well as by his learning. His chair was now occupied by Beza ; who was likewise a man of eminent talents, and who with his profound knowledge of theology united many of the graces of polite literature. He had been a gay and lively poet in his early youth, nor did he discontinue his intercourse with the Muses at a very advanced age. Melville, who had only attained the age of twenty-five, and who was not less eager to learn than willing to teach, became a student under this able and venerable professor. Notwithstanding the disparity of their years, they formed a cordial friendship with each other. From Bertram, the professor of oriental languages, he acquired a knowledge of Syriac. The Greek professor was Franciscus Portus, a native of Candia, who was very familiarly acquainted with the ancient language of his native country, but, like all the modern Greeks, he pronounced it according to accent, and with a total disregard of quantity. In their friendly intercourse with each other, Melville ventured to dispute the propriety of this practice, and sometimes provoked him to exclaim, " You Scots, you barbarians, will forsooth teach us Greeks the pronunciation of our own language !"¹

¹ In the Appendix I have inserted a detailed account of the protracted and remarkable controversy relative to the pronunciation of the Greek language. Some readers may be inclined to think, and perhaps not unreasonably, that this account might at least with equal propriety have been omitted. It however adds but little to the size, and nothing to the price, of the work.

The professor of the civil law was Henry Scrimger, who was greatly distinguished by his classical learning, as well as by his knowledge of ancient jurisprudence. He was educated at St Andrews, Paris, and Bourges, and after having been employed as tutor to the sons of Bochetel, the French secretary of state, he was engaged as private secretary to the bishop of Rennes, whom he accompanied on his embassy to different courts of Italy. At a subsequent period he resided at Augsburg, where he was retained by Ulrich Fugger, a member of a family conspicuous for its opulence, and for its munificent encouragement of learning. He was employed in collecting rare books and manuscripts for this gentleman's magnificent library. His attachment to the reformed doctrines had induced him to abandon a fair prospect of advancement in France; and Calvin having invited him to Geneva, he was admitted to the freedom of the city, and was appointed professor of philosophy in the academy. After retaining the office for two years, he exchanged it for the professorship of the civil law. This chair he filled till the time of his death, and he left behind him the character of a very learned and worthy man. His different employments had enabled him to acquire considerable wealth; and at the distance of a league from Geneva he built a neat villa, called Vilet, and collected a valuable library, which included many ancient manuscripts. He had earned the reputation of an excellent Grecian, and had devoted much labour to the illustration of Greek authors; but the only work of this denomination which he lived to publish was an edition of the *Novellae Constitutiones* of Justinian and other emperors, elegantly printed by his friend H. Stephanus in the year 1558. A sister of Scrimger had married Melville's eldest brother; and this family connexion must have had a tendency to strengthen the attachment of two individuals, who were likewise mutually attracted by their common love of letters.

In the year 1572 the atrocious massacre of St Bartho-

lomeu spread such dismay among the French protestants, that many of them were induced to abandon their native country. Geneva was crowded with these refugees; and at one time it contained no fewer than one hundred and twenty French ministers. "The academy," as Dr Maccrrie has stated, "overflowed with students, and the magistrates were unable to provide salaries for the learned men whom they were desirous to employ, or to find situations for such as were willing to teach without receiving any remuneration." It was at this period that Joseph Scaliger, who bears the first name in the annals of modern erudition, was appointed a professor of philosophy. He had paid a visit to Geneva two years before, and Melville had then been honoured with his acquaintance. He entered upon his professorship in the month of October 1572, and resigned it after an interval of two years. The academy derived additional lustre from the presence of Hotman and Bonnefoy, two very learned civilians, who had likewise fled from the daggers of the assassins, and who experienced the same cordial reception and liberal treatment. To the former the magistrates allotted a salary of 800, and to the latter a salary of 700 florins a-year: Hotman lectured twice a-week on the civil law, and Bonnefoy thrice a-week on the oriental jurisprudence, that is, the jurisprudence, secular and ecclesiastical, of the Greek empire; a branch of study to which he had devoted much attention, and which he illustrated in a work published in the year 1573. It is expressly stated that Melville attended the lectures of Hotman; and, as his excellent biographer suggests, "there can be little doubt that he also availed himself of the opportunity of attending those of Bonnefoy, which were still more intimately connected with those studies to which he had now devoted his chief attention."

After having retained his professorship for five years, he was at length induced to revisit his native country. Some of his own relations had warmly solicited his return; and

their arguments were strenuously seconded by Andrew Polwarth, with whom he had been acquainted at St Andrews, and who had now arrived at Geneva as travelling tutor to Alexander Campbell, the youthful bishop of Brechin. The magistrates of the city, and the professors of the academy, were reluctant to be deprived of the services of a scholar who had already afforded sufficient indications of his talents and learning. Beza addressed to the general assembly a letter in which he stated, that, as the greatest token of affection which the church of Geneva could shew to the church of Scotland, they had suffered themselves to be deprived of Andrew Melville, in order that his native country might be enriched by his gifts. The bishop and his fellow-travellers having commenced their journey in the spring of 1574, traversed Franche Comté, and, proceeding by Lyon, sailed down the Loire to Orleans. On their arrival at Paris, Melville, at the suggestion of Lord Ogilvy, visited the College of the Jesuits, and was there engaged in a controversy with James Tyrie, one of the antagonists of Knox. Their disputation was renewed for several successive days, and might have been of longer duration, if the archbishop of Glasgow had not used some threatening expressions which induced the friends of Melville to hasten his departure. He quitted the French metropolis on the 30th of May, in company with the bishop and his tutor. Having embarked at Dieppe, they landed at Rye, and proceeded to London, where they remained for only a short time ; and having then purchased horses, they pursued their journey by way of Berwick, and arrived at Edinburgh in the beginning of July 1574.

Melville had already distinguished himself by his Latin poetry, and his reputation as a man of talents had reached his native country.¹ The earl of Morton, regent of the

¹ It was about this period that he published his earliest work :
 “ Carmen Mosis, ex Deuteron. cap. xxxii. quod ipse moriens Israeli

kingdom, was desirous of retaining him in the capacity of a domestic chaplain ; and very soon after his arrival, George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk of the privy council, and Colonel James Halyburton, were the bearers of such a proposal, which however he did not think it expedient to accept. He had no wish to become a courtier ; and he was persuaded that his labours would be most available to his countrymen, if he were placed in one of the universities. In the meanwhile, he paid a visit to his brother Richard at Baldov ; where he devoted some portion of his time to the instruction of his nephew James Melville, who had recently taken his master's degree at St Andrews, but who found that his uncle was a teacher very unlike those by whom he had previously been trained. His services however were speedily required in a different station. On the death of John Douglas, who had accumulated the offices of archbishop of St Andrews, provost of St Mary's College, and rector of the university, a proposition was made for placing him at the head of the college ; but on being very strongly urged to accept of a similar appointment at Glasgow, he was finally induced to give it the preference. Having visited the scene of his future labours, he returned to Baldov, and again left it about the end of October. Accompanied by his brother John and by his nephew, he proceeded by way of Stirling, where he spent two days, and was gratified with an opportunity of seeing the young king, then in the ninth year of his age. Here " he conferred at length" with Buchanan, the king's preceptor, who was then engaged in writing his History of Scotland ; and here he likewise met with Dr Moncreiff, with whom he had been well acquainted at Geneva. Thomas Buchanan, the nephew

tradidit ediscendum et cantandum perpetuo, Latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, et Jobi cap. iii. Latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto auctore." Basileae, 1574, 8vo.

of his illustrious friend, accompanied him to Glasgow ; where he was immediately installed in the office of principal, and where he found the university in a very unpromising condition.

When he commenced his academical labours, about the beginning of November 1574, his only coadjutor was Peter Blackburne, who officiated as a regent, and managed the scanty revenues of the foundation. Of the prodigious exertions of the principal himself, the following enumeration will enable us to form a correct estimate. We are first of all informed, that he initiated his students in the principles of Greek grammar. "He then," says Dr Maccrie, "introduced them to the study of logic and rhetoric ; using as his text-books, the *Dialects* of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the *Rhetoric* of Talaæus. While they were engaged in these studies, he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins, and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates, among the Greeks ; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of logic and rhetoric. Proceeding to mathematics and geography, he taught the *Elements* of Euclid, with the arithmetic and geometry of Ramus, and the geography of Dionysius. And agreeably to his plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, and the *Cosmographia* of Honter. Moral philosophy formed the next branch of study ; and on this he read Cicero's *Offices*, *Paradoxes*, and *Tusculan Questions*, the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle, and certain of Plato's *Dialogues*. In natural philosophy he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of universal history, with chronology and the art of writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first more cursorily by going over the elementary work of Martinus, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of

its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac; reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version. He also went through all the common heads of divinity, according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, besides giving lectures on the different books of scripture. This course of study was completed in six years."¹ During the second year, his nephew became one of the regents, and instructed his pupils in Greek, logic, and rhetoric; and in the ensuing year he taught them mathematics and ethics. He was the first professor who in any of the Scottish universities had publicly read the Greek authors in the original. Another regent was afterwards added to this scanty establishment. In 1577 Blaise Laurie was appointed teacher of the Greek language and of Roman eloquence; James Melville of mathematics, logic, and ethics; Blackburne, who likewise held the office of *oeconomus*, of physics, and astronomy; while the learned principal, whose previous labours had been so multifarious, restricted himself to divinity and oriental languages. A separate teacher of Hebrew was appointed about the period of his removal from Glasgow. During the year last specified, the parsonage of Govan, situate in the immediate vicinity, was annexed to the university, and it then became his duty as principal to officiate in the parish church.

The learning, the talents and energy of Melville speedily raised this university from its ruinous condition, and secured for it the reputation of being the first seminary in the kingdom. Before he completed his second academical year, his celebrity as a public teacher had begun to be very widely diffused: students were afterwards attracted from all parts

¹ Maccree's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i. p. 72. Edinb. 1819, 2 vols. 8vo.

of the country, and among these were not a few graduates from St Andrews, who were laudably disposed to learn what their former masters could not teach. Various individuals who afterwards rose to eminence were here trained under his discipline. In this catalogue we find the name of John Spotswood, archbishop of St Andrews, who certainly did not regard his old master with any peculiar veneration: we likewise find the name of Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, and afterwards of Raphoe, with those of Sir Adam Newton, Sir James Fullarton, Sir Gideon Murray, and Sir Edward Drummond, who were all more or less conspicuous at court. Newton, a man of talents and learning, was the tutor, and afterwards the secretary of Prince Henry. Melville sustained the discipline of the university with great vigour and address, and he was frequently placed in situations which required the aid of both: for some of the students, connected with powerful families, were guilty of most flagrant insubordination, and collected a mixed multitude to overawe the principal and the rector. Two of those delinquents were Mark Alexander Boyd, related to the noble family of that name, and Alexander Cunningham, related to the earl of Glencairne, who both proceeded to acts of outrageous violence, and being supported by many other disorderly youths, as well as by many adherents of their respective families, were at first disposed to set all academical authority at open defiance. Cunningham, who had assaulted J. Melville with a drawn sword, was finally reduced to the necessity of making a public and humiliating apology, with his feet as well as his head uncovered. John Maxwell, a son of Lord Herries, had likewise been implicated in some very disorderly proceedings; but when his father was informed of this conduct, he hastened to Glasgow, and compelled him, on his knees, and in an open area of the college, to beg the principal's pardon.

Melville's influence in advancing the literature of his native country was great and lasting, nor was it less consider-

able in improving the condition of the Scottish church. A very motley species of episcopacy had been engrafted upon the reformation ; and although the opulence, as well as the idleness and profligacy of the popish prelacy, was no longer retained, he perceived no advantage in the name and office of a bishop, in contradistinction to the name and office of a presbyter. The bishops of the apostolical age were presbyters, and the presbyters were bishops : with a variety in the name, there was no variety of office. He was a member of the general assembly convened at Edinburgh in March, as well as of that convened at the same place in August 1575. The lawfulness of episcopacy was debated in this latter assembly ; and he there maintained the negative side of the question, in a speech which, as Spotswood admits, " was applauded by many." For the more mature discussion of this subject, the assembly appointed a committee of six ; namely, Melville, Craig, and Lawson, on the one side, and Hay, Row, and Lindsay, on the other. After an interval of two days, they presented a report, in which they did not hold it expedient to answer the general question as to the lawfulness of such an episcopacy as was then established ; but they declared " that they judged the name of a bishop to be common to all ministers that had the charge of a particular flock ; and that by the word of God his chief function consisted in the preaching of the word, the ministration of the sacraments, and exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, with consent of his elders." If an unfit person should be nominated to the office of a bishop, they were of opinion that he ought to be tried and deposed by the general assembly. They however admitted that, in addition to the charge of their own flocks, it might be expedient to entrust some ministers with the power of superintending a certain district, and there exercising a limited and defined jurisdiction.¹ The report was finally and fully approved

¹ Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 276. Mac-crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 160.

by the assembly held in April 1576; and those bishops who had not already undertaken some parochial cure, were enjoined to select particular parishes for the exercise of their pastoral functions. This was the first step towards the abolition of diocesan episcopacy, but more important measures were yet to follow. The regent was by no means satisfied with these proceedings; and during the assembly of October 1577, he sent for Melville with the view of remonstrating against some measures which were then in contemplation. Finding that all other suggestions were unavailing, Morton had recourse to threats, and exclaimed, "There will never be quiet in this country till half a dozen of you are hanged or banished." The resolution of Melville was as little to be shaken by threats as by promises; and he returned an undaunted and characteristic answer, which could not fail to convince the noble earl that he had not selected a proper subject for such an experiment. Of the assembly held in Magdalene chapel at Edinburgh in the month of April 1578, Melville was chosen moderator. The Second Book of Discipline now received the sanction of this ecclesiastical judicature; and although it was not ratified by the privy council or parliament, it was acknowledged by the church as exhibiting the standard of her polity. It was likewise resolved that bishops should no longer be described as *lords*, but should be addressed like other ministers. This purification of the church was completed by the assembly of Dundee, convened in July 1580; when they "found and declared the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church." This important resolution passed without one dissenting voice.¹

¹ "The inferior clergy usurped an authority which was inconsistent with the proper object of their bishops, and even dared to depose bishops, and to censure the episcopal office, under the influence of a *misguided man named Melville*." (Palmer's Treatise on the Church

After a residence of six years at Glasgow, Melville was removed to St Andrews, where he was installed as principal of St Mary's College, in the month of December 1580. The office which he had vacated was filled by Thomas Smeton, who was likewise a man of learning, and is still remembered as the author of an answer to the virulent libel of Archibald Hamilton. The university of St Andrews had very recently been subjected to a salutary reform, and this college had been appropriated to the study of divinity. The office of primarius professor of divinity was then conjoined, as it still continues to be, with that of principal. John Robertson read lectures on the Greek Testament; and James Melville, who had accompanied his uncle from Glasgow, was appointed professor of oriental languages, and began by initiating the students in Hebrew. The parliamentary commissioners had provided for the establishment of two chairs, which however were not yet filled. A more laborious task was thus imposed upon the principal, who not only taught systematic theology, but likewise "taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and rabbinical languages." In this new situation he had to contend with new difficulties. Robert Hamilton had been displaced to make room for Melville; some of the other regents were likewise superseded; and the professors of law and mathematics were removed from St Mary's to St Salvator's College. Here were some apparent grounds of private offence, and he had besides incurred the violent resentment of Aristotle's numerous friends; but his superior talents and learning, with the firmness and consistency

of Christ, vol. i. p. 574.) It is chiefly for this salutary exertion of his influence, that the memory of "a misguided man named Melville" continues to be venerated by a large proportion of his countrymen, who regard the abolition of prelacy as the second great reformation of the national church. The lucubrations of the Oxford apostolicals have no tendency to recommend diocesan episcopacy, under any form or modification, to any presbyterian of common sense.

of his personal character, enabled him to overcome all the unreasonable opposition which he had thus to encounter.

Of the political events which marked this period of Scottish history, he was not an unconcerned spectator. The young king had unfortunately placed himself under the sole direction of two papists, whom he created duke of Lennox and earl of Arran ; and a design was entertained of associating his mother in the government, and eventually of restoring the popish religion in the kingdom. A very general alarm was excited among the protestants, who, by a solemn bond or covenant, engaged themselves to maintain with their estates and lives the liberties of their country, and the profession of the reformed religion. This instrument, prepared by John Craig, and dated in the year 1580, was subscribed by the king himself, as well as by individuals of all other ranks. The restoration of episcopacy was naturally favoured by those who favoured popery and arbitrary power. On the death of Archbishop Boyd, the disposal of the see of Glasgow was left to the duke of Lennox, who made a simoniacal bargain with Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. In the month of October 1581, his case was discussed in the general assembly ; and the king having declared that it was competent to proceed against him for personal misconduct or erroneous doctrine, Melville rose and presented a libel, comprehending fifteen articles of accusation. The assembly directed the presbytery of Stirling to investigate these charges, and to report their decision to the synod of Lothian, which was formally authorized to pronounce his sentence. For acting according to these instructions, the members of the synod were summoned before the privy council ; where by the mouth of Robert Pont, one of their number, they declined the jurisdiction of that tribunal, as incompetent to take cognizance of a cause strictly ecclesiastical.

An assembly was held at St Andrews in April 1582, and Melville was again elected moderator. On their resuming

the consideration of Montgomery's case, the master of requests presented a letter from the king, requiring them to desist from all further proceedings respecting the archbishopric of Glasgow, and a messenger-at-arms soon afterwards delivered a more peremptory denunciation. Instead of being deterred by the threatened pains and penalties of rebellion, they resolved to continue the investigation, and finally declared that the accused was liable to the sentence of deposition and excommunication ; a sentence which it was not however necessary to pronounce, as he appeared before the assembly, and, having withdrawn his appeal, solemnly promised to refrain from all further attempts at obtaining possession of the archbishopric. But such was the levity of his disposition, that he speedily forgot his promise. He was censured by the presbytery of Glasgow, and excommunicated by that of Edinburgh. These bold and decided measures could not fail to incense the court : a proclamation, declaring the excommunication to be null and void, was issued by the privy council ; such individuals as should refuse payment of rents due to his see were ordered to be committed to the castle of Inverness ; the university of Glasgow, which had joined in the opposition to the new archbishop, was subjected to a temporary interdict ; the ministers of Edinburgh, who had publicly animadverted on the recent proceedings of the king and his courtiers, were repeatedly cited before the privy council, where they were exposed to contumelious treatment ; and John Dury, one of their number, was banished from the city, and prohibited from exercising his functions. An extraordinary meeting of the assembly was held in consequence of these violent proceedings, and Melville resumed his seat as moderator. On the occasion of their meeting he preached a sermon, in which he inveighed against those who had introduced the bloody knife " of absolute power into the country, and who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. The pope, he said, was the first who united the ecclesiasti-

cal supremacy to the civil, which he had wrested from the emperor. Since the reformation, he had, with the view of suppressing the gospel, delegated his absolute power to the emperor, and the kings of Spain and France; and from France, where it had produced the horrors of St Bartholomew, it was brought into this country." They now prepared a remonstrance, complaining of their grievances, and craving redress; and a deputation of the members, with the moderator at its head, was named for the purpose of presenting this remonstrance to his majesty, who was then residing at Perth. It was accordingly presented to the king in council; and on its being read, the earl of Arran asked with an angry countenance, "Who dare subscribe these articles?" "We dare," said the undaunted Melville, and immediately signed his name; nor did the other commissioners hesitate to follow his example. The minions of power were overawed by their intrepidity, and dismissed them without any formal censure.

Patrick Adamson had been appointed archbishop of St Andrews in the year 1576; and, as he was a man of elegant learning, and a Latin poet, there was a least one bond of union between him and the principal of St Mary's. For some time they lived on terms of good neighbourhood, and Melville frequently preached at his request. With the assistance of his nephew, he supplied the place of a parochial minister for a considerable period, during a long-protracted vacancy. This vacancy continued for upwards of three years; and although three different individuals, Pont, Smeton, and Arbuthnot, were successively chosen, not one of them was finally settled at St Andrews. He did not fail to make public animadversions on the conduct of those who had laboured too successfully to prevent such a settlement; and he likewise augmented the number of his enemies, by his severity in rebuking the more flagrant and prevalent vices of the inhabitants. On one occasion, the provost of the city abruptly quitted the church in the middle of the

sermon, not without muttering his high displeasure at the unsparing zeal of the preacher. The gates of St Mary's College exhibited placards, threatening to bastinate the principal, to set fire to his lodge, and to expel him from the city. But in the midst of these excitements he continued firm and undismayed ; nor did he shrink from the decisive measure of summoning the provost before the presbytery, for contempt of divine ordinances.

He was soon afterwards exposed to danger from another quarter. He was cited to appear before the privy council on the 17th of February 1584, to answer to the charge of having, on the occasion of a fast kept during the preceding month, uttered certain seditious and treasonable words in his sermon and prayers. Furnished with ample testimonials of his loyalty, he repaired to Edinburgh, and having appeared before the council, he entered into a full explanation and defence of the expressions which he had actually employed. They nevertheless resolved to proceed against him, when he stated six different grounds of objection. The most material of these was, that his case ought, in the first instance, to be remitted to the ecclesiastical court, as the ordinary and competent judicatory in all matters connected with his conduct as a minister. The proceedings having been adjourned to the following day, he then presented a written protest, declining the jurisdiction of the privy council, and embodying the same reasons which he had formerly urged. Deputations from the presbytery and from the university of St Andrews were in attendance ; the one for the purpose of entering a protest for saving the rights of the church, and the other for the purpose of replying to this head of a college to the court of the rector. They were not however permitted to execute their commission ; and on the reading of Melville's declinature, the king and his minion Arran were roused to unseemly rage. But they had to deal with a man whom the frowns of royalty could not intimidate, and he pleaded his own cause with the most

unshaken firmness and resolution. In the course of his speech he appealed to the authority of the scriptures ; and unclasping a Hebrew Bible that was suspended at his girdle, he threw it on the council-table, and challenged any of his judges to shew that he had exceeded his instructions. He was repeatedly ordered to withdraw, but was not permitted to hold any communication with his friends. Several witnesses were examined, but nothing tending to criminate him could be extracted from their evidence. He was however found guilty of behaving irreverently before the council, and of declining its jurisdiction, and was sentenced to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at the pleasure of the king. As he was not detained in custody, he had a brief interval for deliberating as to the most advisable course to be pursued ; and his friends, as well as himself, were alarmed on ascertaining that his place of confinement was changed to Blackness castle, a dreary dungeon, kept by a dependant of the unscrupulous earl of Arran. Here his life would evidently have been exposed to danger ; and finding it thus necessary to provide for his safety by flight, he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, and next day proceeded to Berwick. This rigorous treatment of so learned and eminent a man excited no small degree of popular indignation. The ministers of Edinburgh had the courage to make mention of their exiled brother in their public prayers. With the view of removing the odium which had thus been incurred, the council issued a proclamation containing two assertions that must have gained very little credence ; namely, that he had been exposed to no danger of severe treatment, and that his exile was to be considered as voluntary. All these proceedings exhibit a glaring picture of the mode in which justice was then administered.

I am not entirely disposed to think, with Dr. Maccrie, that Melville urged a good and valid plea when he averred that, in the first instance, he was only amenable to the

jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court. He was charged with having uttered seditious and treasonable words in the pulpit, and for such conduct he was certainly liable to ecclesiastical censure ; but was the civil judicatory to suspend its right of investigating so grave a charge as this, and to pause till the ecclesiastical judicatory had duly deliberated whether any, and what censure was to be pronounced ? Sins, however glaring, if the law does not rank them among crimes, may safely be left to the discipline of the church ; but if the ecclesiastical tribunal had been found competent to interpose in cases of sedition and treason, what should have prevented it from interposing in cases of robbery and murder ? It does not therefore appear to have been so unreasonable and unjust in Dr Robertson to identify the plea advanced by Melville, with the claim which the popish clergy made to exemption from the civil jurisdiction.¹ True indeed it is that he only pleaded for the exclusive competency of the ecclesiastical court to judge in the first instance ; but it is equally true that the architects of the canon law did not at once complete all the different stories of their motley edifice. His declining the jurisdiction of the civil court could however constitute no crime or misdemeanour, except in the contemplation of judges actuated with the spirit of inquisitors ; and it was no small aggravation of their unjust proceedings, that they altered the terms of a sentence after it had been pronounced and recorded.

During the absence of Melville, the presbyterian form of polity was again superseded, and the most arbitrary maxims of civil government were now avowed and maintained by the king and his submissive parliament. Some of the faithful ministers were committed to prison, and a considerable number sought a place of refuge in England, where they had no

¹ Robertson's History of Scotland, vol ii. p. 411. Maccrie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 286.

reason to expect the most favourable reception. The universities, being closely connected with the church, did not escape the visitations of arbitrary power. Having obtained permission to visit London, he proceeded on his journey, bearing with him instructions from the exiled nobles who were then residing at Berwick. During the ensuing month of July, he paid a visit to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and "he was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profession and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students." After their arrival in London, the noble exiles could not succeed in their application for the use of a separate place of worship. Balcanquhall and Davidson, having preached on one or two occasions, were silenced by the bishop of the diocese; but the lieutenant of the tower invited the Scottish ministers to preach in his chapel, which was exempted from the bishop's jurisdiction. There Melville read a Latin lecture on the book of Genesis; and we are informed that this lecture attracted a considerable auditory, and was much admired, particularly by the earl of Angus, who is said to have possessed a more cultivated mind than any other Scottish peer of that age.

The government of James had become so generally unpopular, that the exiles were at length emboldened to revisit their native country; where their principal leaders were speedily joined by a military force so formidable as at once to dissolve the power and influence of the earl of Arran. After an absence of twenty months, Melville attended the banished lords on their return, and arrived in Scotland in the beginning of November 1585. He lost no time in using his best endeavours for the recovery of those liberties of which the church had recently been deprived. Some dissensions had arisen among his brethren in consequence of the defection of those who had suffered themselves to be entangled in the trammels of episcopacy; and as it was of no

small importance to secure a general coöperation in the attempt to procure a repeal of the laws which had effected a change in the ecclesiastical polity; he undertook a mission to various parts of the kingdom, for the express purpose of securing this desirable union. A deputation of the ministers waited upon those noblemen who had promised to use all their influence for restoring the purity of the church; but having received evasive and unsatisfactory answers, they were constrained to make a direct application to the king, who gave them a very ungracious reception: he brought a railing accusation against them, "and made use of expressions which were not more disrespectful to them, than they were indecorous from the mouth of a king. The consequence was, that he was obliged to hear some things in reply, which were not the most grateful to his royal ears. Melville defended himself and his brethren with spirit, and hot speeches passed between him and his majesty at several interviews."

In the mean time the affairs of the university were equally unprosperous. Thomas Buchanan, provost of Kirkhill and minister of Ceres, had begun to assist James Melville in his academical labours; but the nephew, as well as the uncle, having been compelled to quit his station, Robertson was the only professor who continued to reside in St. Mary's College. Its sole direction then devolved upon the archbishop, who himself undertook to read lectures on divinity; but as his principal topics in the chair, as well as in the pulpit, were the supremacy of the king and the preëminence of bishops, he found so little favour with his auditors, that he speedily relinquished his thankless task. He next obtained authority for converting the college into a seminary of philosophy; and Robertson, who had recommended himself by the pliancy of his conduct, was promoted to the office of principal. Finding his former station thus occupied, Melville repaired to Glasgow, where he resided with his friend Andrew Hay, rector of the university.

Here he might have been reinstated in the principal's chair, which had remained vacant since the death of Smeton in 1583 ; but he was anxious to restore the theological seminary at St Andrews, and to that city he accordingly returned in the ensuing month of March. The college had been placed on its former foundation, and, after an interval of two years, he now resumed his labours.

The synod of Fife met at St Andrews in the course of the following month ; and in a sudden, and indeed irregular manner, the archbishop was called to an account for having exercised an unlawful office, and endeavoured to overthrow the liberties of the church of Scotland. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him ; and, in return, having prepared a similar sentence against Melville and some of his brethren, he directed his servants to read it in the church. This censure of Adamson was not confirmed by the general assembly, but he nevertheless found himself constrained to make some abatements of his pontifical pretensions. In order to smooth the archbishop's return to his diocese, the king had recourse to the expedient of subjecting Melville to a temporary relegation. He accordingly received a written mandate to confine his residence to the north side of the river Tay ; nor was it without considerable difficulty that he at length succeeded in his attempt to procure its revocation. Adamson had in the mean time been appointed to read in St Salvator's College a Latin lecture, which all the members of the university were required to attend ; but he had the mortification to find his auditory much diminished when Melville's voice was again heard in the divinity-school ; and this mortification appears to have been not a little increased by the reduced numbers of the congregation when he officiated in his own church. The chapel of St Mary's having attracted too many auditors, he procured a mandate from his majesty, prohibiting the professors of that college from preaching in the vernacular tongue.

When Du Bartas, an envoy from the king of Navarre, accompanied James to St Andrews, they came to hear a lecture from Melville, after having given him an hour's notice of their intention. He at first endeavoured to excuse himself by stating that he had already delivered his ordinary lecture, and that he was altogether unprepared for such illustrious auditors; but as his majesty would not admit of such an excuse, he pronounced an extemporary discourse, which is said to have given "satisfaction to all the hearers, except his majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church government." The king and the ambassador were on the following day entertained by the archbishop; who, in addition to the pontifical banquet, regaled them with an elaborate defence of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville, who was present, and took notes of the principal topics, had no sooner returned to his college than he ordered the bell to be rung, and conveyed to the king an intimation of his intention to deliver another lecture after an interval of two hours. Although he received two messages, partly compounded of threats and partly of blandishments, he was not to be deterred or diverted from his purpose: he declared that, even at the risk of his life, he would use his best endeavours to counteract the effects of pernicious doctrine; but so far as a sacred regard for the cause of truth would permit, he promised to be very tender of his majesty's honour. This lecture attracted a very numerous auditory, and among the rest, the king, Du Bartas, and Adamson. With equal judgment and dexterity, he made no formal reference to the previous speech of the archbishop, but quoted from popish books, which he then produced, all his leading positions and arguments relative to episcopacy; and all these popish doctrines he refuted with such force of reason and eloquence, that Adamson, who had previously obtained the royal permission to defend his own cause, is described as having been struck

as dumb as the seat on which he had placed himself. The learned monarch was however induced to make a speech, which was interspersed with certain scholastic distinctions, and closed with an injunction to respect and obey the arch-bishop; an injunction which can scarcely be supposed to have fallen upon very willing ears. He afterwards deigned to partake of a collation in the college, and was regaled with "wet and dry confections, and all sorts of wine."

Of the general assembly held in June 1587, Melville was elected moderator; and he was likewise nominated one of their commissioners for attending to the proceedings in the ensuing session of parliament. On the 17th of May 1590, he was present at the coronation of the queen, and then recited a Latin poem which he had composed for the occasion, and which was immediately published.¹ His antagonist Adamson died on the 19th of February 1592, after having been deprived of his office, together with all its emoluments. The king, who was incapable of all generous feeling, left him to poverty and contempt; and such were the vicissitudes of his condition, that he was at length constrained to address a letter to Melville, which, with an expression of contrition for his previous conduct, contained the sad disclosure of his destitute situation. Melville hastened to pay him a visit, and not only procured contributions from his friends at St Andrews, but even continued for several months to support him from his private resources. The death of this accomplished and unfortunate prelate was speedily followed by the formal restoration of presbytery. Some progress had been made during a former session, and in the month of June an act of parliament ratified the government of the church by general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions.

In the year 1593 St Mary's College derived a consider-

¹ Στεφανισκιον, ad Scotiae Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginae, 17 Maii 1590, per Andream Melvinum. Edinb. 1590, 4to.

able accession of strength from the appointment of John Johnston to a professorship of divinity. He supplied the place of Robertson ; and in 1586 Patrick Melville had succeeded his cousin, the professor of oriental languages, who was now minister of Kilrenny. On the death of James Wilkie, principal of St Leonard's College, Andrew Melville had in 1590 become rector of the university. This office, which for a series of years he continued to hold by reëlection, he discharged with his usual energy. He was elected moderator of the general assembly convened in May 1594, and he bore a conspicuous part in many of the public transactions of that period. Together with his nephew James, and other two ministers, he accompanied the king on his expedition against the popish lords, after the battle of Glenlivet ; and his majesty, who had requested their attendance, found him a very faithful and able counsellor. With the view of maintaining the rights of the church, he from time to time had various audiences ; and being more distinguished by intrepid sincerity than by smooth complacency, he could not often anticipate a gracious reception.

In the year 1596, when the design was ascertained of recalling the popish lords from banishment, he went to Falkland with other commissioners of the general assembly, for the purpose of remonstrating against a measure which they considered as so pernicious. They were admitted to a private audience ; but, from its commencement, the king testified the utmost impatience, and Melville was at length elevated to the pitch of taking his majesty by the sleeve, and calling him " God's silly vassal ;" when he proceeded to address him in a strain which, as Dr Maccrie has remarked, was " perhaps the most singular, in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject, who would have spilt his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince." While some applaud the courage of this undaunted presbyter, others may be equally disposed to condemn him as

guilty of unwarrantable insolence to his sovereign. These opinions we shall not pause to discuss ; but it may be proper to add, that his majesty's passion is said to have subsided while Melville thus continued to admonish him of his duty. For several years ensuing, the king made repeated attempts to regulate the church according to his own arbitrary notions ; nor in any of those attempts did he meet with a more strenuous opponent than the worthy principal of St Mary's.

A royal visitation of the university took place in the year 1597, when the utmost anxiety was manifested to discover some tenable ground of accusation against an individual so obnoxious to the court. Although sufficiently aware of the situation in which he stood, he sharply rebuked the king in church for having commanded the preacher to discontinue his sermon. As the visitors were unable to find any pretext for censuring his conduct as a member of the university, they only ventured to deprive him of the office of rector : but they had recourse to another method of incapacitating him for opposing his majesty's schemes of innovation ; under the pains and penalties of treason, they prohibited all professors and regents, not being pastors in the church, from sitting as members of any ecclesiastical court. Disregarding this prohibition, which proceeded from no competent authority, he did not hesitate to take his place in the provincial synod and the general assembly ; but when he presented himself at Dundee as a member of assembly, James was moved with violent indignation, and commanded both him and his colleague Johnston to quit the town. In the month of November 1599, he however bore a very conspicuous part in the conference to which the king invited the principal clergy at Holyroodhouse. At every step he most strenuously contended against the restoration of episcopacy. Of the assembly held at Montrose in the year 1600, he was likewise chosen a member, but a royal mandate again prevented him from taking his seat : he however

appears to have sat in the assembly convened at Burntisland in May 1601. In the course of the following year, he gave great offence, in a discourse from the pulpit, by condemning the unfaithfulness and secular spirit which, as he averred, had become so common among his brethren. In order to restrain this freedom of speech, the king, by his sole authority, commanded him, under the pain of treason, to confine himself within the walls of his own college. By the intercession of the queen, his first sentence was so far relaxed as to permit him to move within a circuit of six miles from St Andrews.

James, on succeeding to the English throne, found his hands sufficiently strengthened to complete his long-meditated changes in the Scottish church. When the parliament met at Perth in August 1606, it was clearly understood that the episcopal office was to be restored to its former privileges, and that the statute which had annexed to the crown the temporalities of the sees, was to be abolished. Melville was deputed by the presbytery of St Andrews, with instructions to coöperate with delegates from other presbyteries in maintaining the liberties of the church ; but, as may easily be supposed, they travelled on a very fruitless errand. He made an ineffectual attempt to obtain a hearing ; and they could only record their opinions in the form of a strong and decided protest, which could not be received or acknowledged by the house. But a desperate expedient was at length devised for removing this scourge of episcopacy from that sphere of action, in which his opposition had been found to be so formidable. He had received a letter from the king, commanding him to repair to London before the 15th of September, in order "that his majesty might treat with him and others, his brethren, of good learning, judgment, and experience, of such things as would tend to settle the peace of the church, and to justify to the world the measures which his majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for re-

pressing the obstinate and turbulent." A similar requisition was addressed to James Melville, and to other six clergymen, namely, Scott, Carmichael, Watson, Balfour, Colt, and Wallace. They reached the English metropolis before the limited time ; and soon after their arrival, they received invitations from the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but did not deem it advisable to accept them. Having been previously presented to the king, they were commanded to attend him at Hampton Court on the 22d of September ; and were then informed that the important questions which he wished to propose for their consideration, related to the pretended assembly of Aberdeen, and to the best means of restoring the tranquillity of the church. They were directed to return next day, and then to deliver their opinions. When they again presented themselves, they found his majesty surrounded by the nobility of both kingdoms, and attended by the Scotch archbishops, as well as by commissioners from the conforming section of the clergy. The king was seated between the prince of Wales and the metropolitan of all England. The question relative to the assembly of Aberdeen was manifestly captious, and was proposed for the sole purpose of entangling the bold and honest presbyters in a dangerous snare. The two archbishops and their adherents had no hesitation in condemning that assembly as unlawful, factious, and turbulent ; but not one of the faithful eight could be induced to utter a single word tending to implicate their brethren in any measure of blame. Melville delivered his opinion at great length, and with a degree of fire and impetuosity which astonished the English nobility and clergy. As to the other questions, relative to the pacification of the church, all the eight replied with one voice, that the only expedient for accomplishing that purpose was a free assembly. "The ministers," as Dr Maccrie has stated, "were dismissed with unequivocal marks of approbation on the part of those who were present. The English nobility who had not been

accustomed to see the king addressed with such freedom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience, at the harmony of views which appeared in all their speeches, and the readiness and pertinency of the replies which they made to every objection with which they were urged. The reports of the conference which were circulated through the city made a strong impression in their favour. It had the effect of dispelling the cloud of prejudice which had been raised against them and their brethren ; and convinced the impartial that, instead of being the turbulent and unreasonable men they had been represented to be, they were only claiming their undoubted rights, and standing up for the ecclesiastical liberties of their country against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power."

They were immediately followed to their lodgings at Kingston by Alexander Hay, one of the Scottish secretaries of state, who read to them a formal order not to return to their own country, or to approach the court without special permission. They were afterwards brought before the Scottish council, assembled at the earl of Dunbar's apartments ; and various artful expedients were successively and ineffectually tried for moving their resolution or corrupting their integrity. One part of the discipline to which they were subjected, was that of listening to the foolishness of preaching. The third controversial sermon which they were condemned to hear in the chapel royal, was preached by the learned Dr Andrews, then bishop of Chichester, and afterwards of Winchester ; who from the text relative to the silver trumpets blown by the priests at the Jewish convocations, undertook to prove that the right of convoking ecclesiastical councils properly belongs to Christian emperors and kings. Did the bishops and deans, to whom they were thus constrained to listen, seriously expect presbyterian auditors to be moved, except with derision, by such

mystical drivelling as this? On St Michael's day, they attended the same chapel of Hampton Court, and were not a little scandalized at the popish appearance of what is superstitiously called the altar;¹ which displayed two closed books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted tapers. The prince of Vaudemont, son to the duke of Lorraine, was present, with other foreigners of distinction; and after the close of the service, he naturally enough took occasion to observe, that he saw no reason why the church of England should not unite with the church of Rome. One of his attendants was so strongly impressed with the same opinion, that he exclaimed, "Nothing but the adoration of the host is here wanting to the mass." Melville returned to his lodgings, and immediately vented his indignation in the following epigram:

¹ "Nulli sacerdotes," says Salmasius, "in evangelio aut scriptis apostolicis nominati reperiuntur. Nullius sacerdotii vestigium extat. Apostolos ipsos nusquam sic vocatos videre est. Non, ab ipsis prepositos regendis ecclesiis episcopos vel presbyteros, ita dictos. Ubi nomen non extat, cur rem ibi fuisse credamus? Immo hoc unum ante omnia curae videntur habuisse qui Christi evangelium adnuntiaverunt apostoli, et ecclesias sive coetus fidelium in singulis civitatibus constituerunt, ut Judaicorum sacrificiorum omnem memoriam cum ipsa appellatione abolerent et exterminarent. Ubi sacrificia non fuere, nec sacerdotium ibi aut sacerdotes esse, nec nominari oportuit. Ne altarium quidem nomen auditum est in primitiva ecclesia, quam apostoli fundarunt. Mensa erat, non altare, in qua coena Domini adponebatur et dispensabatur." (*De Episcopis et Presbyteris Dissertatio*, p. 379.) Mede has laboured to prove that, at a very early period, the communion table was described as an altar. (*Works*, p. 382.) After conceding all that he demands, it is only necessary to repeat that no such term is employed by the apostles or evangelists. If we resign ourselves to the guidance of the fathers, we shall be led to adopt many unsound opinions. Thus, the doctrine of the millennium, likewise maintained by Mede, may be confirmed by very early authorities, and, among others, by that of Justin Martyr. See Chillingworth's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 369. edit. Oxford, 1838, 3 vols. 8vo.

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
 Lumina caeca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
 Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
 Lumine caeca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
 Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
 Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam?¹

As Melville and his brethren were beset with spies, a copy of this epigram was speedily conveyed to the king, who viewed the author as guilty of a heinous offence. On the third of November he was brought before the English council at Whitehall, where he boldly avowed himself as the writer of the obnoxious verses; nor did he hesitate to express, in plain prose, his feelings of grief and indignation at seeing the superstitions of popery retained in a church professing to be reformed. He however added that he had not given any person a copy of the epigram; and that if he had committed an offence, he was not amenable to the English council, especially when his sovereign was not present. The archbishop of Canterbury then began to expatiate on the aggravated nature of his offence, which he described as coming within the definition of treason. "My lords," he indignantly exclaimed, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor; but there was one Richard Bancroft (let him be sought for), who, during the life of the late queen, wrote a treatise against his majesty's title to the crown of England, and here is the book." Bancroft, who was totally unprepared for such an act of retaliation, sat in mute astonishment, while the Scottish presbyter proceeded to accuse him of profaning the Sabbath, and of silencing and imprisoning faithful preachers of the gospel for scrupling to conform to the vain and superstitious ceremonies of an antichristian hierarchy. He gradually advanced so near

¹ Melvini Musae, p. 24. Anno 1620, 4to. Of this epigram, the first four lines are quoted with much approbation by Dempster, who does not however venture to quote the concluding distich. (Historia Ecclesiastica, p. 498.)

this pontiff as to shake his lawn sleeves ; and, calling them Romish rags, he thus continued to address him : “ If you are the author of the book called ‘ England Scottizing for Geneva Discipline,’ then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the reformed churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood ; and it grieves me that such a man should have his majesty’s ear, and sit so high in this honourable council.” Dr Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, having at length ventured to interpose, was subjected to the same unceremonious treatment ; nor did his sermon on the beauties of episcopacy, with which he had recently edified the presbyterian brethren, escape severe animadversion. Melville was finally admonished by the lord chancellor Ellesmere to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years ; and was moreover informed that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and was to be committed to the custody of the dean of St Paul’s, till the king should signify his pleasure as to his further punishment.

In the custody of Dr Overall he remained till the 9th of March 1607, when he received from the council an order to remove to the bishop of Winchester’s residence in London ; but as he was not attended by the messenger who delivered this order, he paid a visit of several weeks to his brethren. On the 26th of April he was again summoned before the council. The king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland had recourse to the expedient of stationing himself in a closet where he could hear and not be seen ; and he received the appropriate reward of hearing himself mentioned with the utmost freedom of speech by the most undaunted of his subjects. The archbishop, the earls of Salisbury and Northampton, with the lord treasurer, were all exposed to the reprehensions of a man who spared none of their vices, public or private. By a most inquisitorial and iniquitous sentence, worthy of Rome or Toledo, he

was committed as a prisoner to the Tower. His nephew, who had written an epigram on the superstitions of the church, was commanded to fix his residence at Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to move beyond a distance of ten miles from that town.¹ Their brethren were permitted to return to Scotland, but were each of them restricted to particular limits. Such at that period was the spirit of the English government, and such were the unhallowed means of upholding a protestant church. The spirit of popery is not always confined to the popedom.

Melville's office was soon afterwards declared vacant, and Robert Howie, a man of respectable attainments in learning, succeeded him as principal of St Mary's College. For the space of about ten months, the prisoner was subjected to the most rigorous treatment: no person was allowed to visit him, he was not permitted to retain a servant, and was even denied the use of pen and ink. But his manly spirit was still unsubdued, and he endeavoured to amuse his solitary hours by composing Latin verses, which with the tongue of his shoe-buckle he engraved on the walls of his prison-house. From these unnecessary restraints he was at length released by the intercession of some of his friends at court, and particularly of Sir James Semple, who was himself a man of learning, and an able supporter of the presbyterian polity. Before the close of the year 1607, the

¹ James Melville was afterwards permitted to reside at Berwick, where he died on the 19th of January 1614, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighth of his banishment. He was twice married, and left several children. He appears to have been an upright and disinterested man: his zeal, less fiery than that of his uncle, was equally uniform and consistent, nor did the offer of a bishopric shake his attachment to presbytery. He is the author of various works in the Latin and Scottish languages, but his talents were much inferior to those of his uncle. His Diary, recently printed for the Bannatyne Club, contains much curious information relative to the ecclesiastical and literary history of that age.

protestants of Rochelle endeavoured to obtain his services, as professor of divinity in their college, but James could not yet be induced to open the doors of his prison. After another interval of twelve months, he was moved by the suggestion of some person of rank to address the king in Latin verse, but in this case verse was incapable of soothing the ear of the royal poet. By the advice of Archbishop Spotswood, whose sincerity he afterwards found strong reasons to distrust, he addressed to the privy council a letter in which, without compromising his own dignity of character, he endeavoured to persuade them that an imprisonment of two years was a sufficient punishment for any offence which he might have committed. But these unjust judges likewise turned a deaf ear to his supplication, and he was doomed to remain a prisoner for an additional period of two years; at the expiration of which, he was released by the intercession of the duke of Bouillon, who invited him to fill a professor's chair in the protestant university of Sedan.

Notwithstanding his tedious confinement, he had enjoyed a large measure of good health; but the vigour of his constitution was at length impaired, and having been seized with a fever, he obtained permission to leave the Tower for a few days, but under the condition of not removing beyond the distance of ten miles from London. His health returned, and it became necessary to prepare for a voyage, which, it may easily be conceived, he undertook with some degree of reluctance. He was now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and had long filled an honourable and conspicuous station in his native land, to which he felt that strong attachment which his countrymen so generally feel. But the wrath of kings and bishops is sometimes not easily appeased; and this aged, learned, and conscientious divine was compelled to relinquish the hope of returning to the land of his nativity, and after having so far declined into the vale of years, to proceed in search of a new country.

"Ἀπας μὲν ἀνὴρ ἀετῷ περάσιμος,

"Ἀπασα δὲ χθὼν ἀνδρὶ γυνναίῳ πατρίς.¹

On the 10th of April 1611, he embarked for France ; and having spent a few days at Rouen and Paris, he arrived at Sedan in the course of the ensuing month. In this university he was associated with several of his countrymen : the office of principal was held by Walter Donaldson, who was likewise professor of natural and moral philosophy ; and another professor of philosophy was John Smith. Melville was installed as a professor of divinity, and to him was assigned the department of biblical literature, while his colleague Tilenus taught systematic theology. Another member of the theological faculty was Jacques Cappel, who taught the Hebrew language with no small reputation. Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, was morose in his temperament, and did not prove a very desirable associate. After having written against the opinions of Arminius, he became an avowed convert to them ; and being refuted by Melville in his academical lectures, he quitted the university of Sedan, and was afterwards conspicuous as a bitter opponent of the opinions of Calvin. Our learned countryman still retained a large portion of mental vivacity, nor were his bodily senses materially impaired : at the age of sixty-eight, he could read the smallest Hebrew characters without the aid of spectacles. He was however exposed to occasional visitations of colic, gout, and gravel ; nor did he cease to cherish some lingering, though faint, hope of being permitted to deposit his bones in the land of his fathers. His mortal career was however terminated at Sedan in the year 1622, when he had attained the age of seventy-seven.

Melville was small in stature, and was alike conspicuous for his vivacity of body and mind. His elasticity of spirit,

¹ Euripidis Fragments, p. 370. edit. Matthiae.

which he appears to have retained till the last years of his life, was accompanied with a warm and impetuous temperament, which however was free from all personal malignity. Whenever he engaged in any undertaking that he deemed important, he displayed a degree of ardour and zeal which could not fail to excite the surprise of persons more cool, as well as more obtuse than himself. His zeal was pure and disinterested, nor did he hesitate to endanger his liberty or life in maintaining those principles of civil and religious freedom to which his heart and soul were so entirely devoted. From his early youth, he was distinguished by fervid and consistent piety. He was a man of the most unblemished integrity, nor did his enemies, who were sufficiently numerous, venture to charge him with sordid or selfish motives of conduct: their accusations chiefly relate to his want of personal reverence for the king, and to his want of veneration for bishops, with all their Romish remnants; and it must indeed be admitted that, although possessed of the most genuine loyalty, he treated his sovereign with very little ceremony, and that he regarded the English and the Romish prelacy as essentially partaking of the same spirit. As to his personal treatment of the king, it is without hesitation to be conceded that the reverence which may not be due to the individual is at least due to the office. The other question, as to the genuine character and inevitable tendency of a lordly prelacy, we shall here suffer to rest on its own merits. In private life he appears to have been very amiable and affectionate: if his indignation was easily roused, it was also easily appeased: and he was free from that arrogance by which men of intellectual superiority have sometimes rendered themselves more feared than respected. Melville was unquestionably possessed of very uncommon talents, and he had acquired an ample and varied store of erudition. His proficiency, not merely in classical, but even in oriental literature, was not denied by such of his contemporaries as were least disposed to be-

stow commendation which he did not undeniably merit. For the depth as well as the extent of his theological learning, he was generally admired by those who had the best opportunities of forming a correct judgment. We have already observed that he had devoted considerable attention to the study of law, and some of his enemies represented him as too much addicted to the study of politics, while his friends were equally persuaded that all his talents and all his energies were uniformly directed to the most beneficial purposes. Such was his indifference to literary reputation, that although so capable of writing in prose or verse, he committed very few works to the press.¹ During his long and active life, and under all its vicissitudes, he continued to feel the attraction of the Roman Muse. Nature had bestowed upon him the fancy and feeling of a poet, and his verses frequently display uncommon felicity and elegance.

¹ His works have been enumerated by Dr Maccrie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 510. To this accurate list I have only to add an unpublished "*Commentarius in divinam Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos, auctore Andrea Melvino Scoto.*" The manuscript, a small quarto of 121 leaves, transcribed with much elegance, is in the possession of my friend Mr Laing, keeper of the Signet Library, to whom I am indebted for the use of it, as well as for many other favours of a similar kind.

WILLIAM BARCLAY.

THIS eminent civilian derived his lineage from Barclay of Colairney in the county of Fife,¹ but was born in the county of Aberdeen in the year 1546. It appears from a letter under the great seal, that he was related to the earl of Huntley, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lesley of Balquhain, and other persons of distinction.² He prosecuted his early studies in the university of Aberdeen;³ and as we commonly judge of causes from effects, we may conclude that he was well trained in classical learning. In his youth he frequented the Scottish court, and he seems to have placed some reliance on the queen's favour; but after she was deprived of her crown, his adherence to the Romish faith must have proved an effectual bar to his preferment. As his birth was superior to his fortune, he was compelled to give his talents a new direction; and in 1573, following the example of many other Scottish youths of that period, he emigrated to France, where, according to the expression

¹ Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, append. Edinb. 1710, fol.

² This letter, dated on the 19th of March 1582-3, is printed among the prolegomena to J. Barclay's *Argenis*, edit. 1664. See likewise Tomasini, *Illustrium Virorum Elogia*, tom. ii. p. 183.

³ Ker, *Donaides, sive Musarum Aberdonensium de eximia Jacobi Fraserii, J. U. D. in Academiam Regiam Aberdonensem Munificentia, Carmen Eucharisticum*, p. 16. Edinb. 1725, 4to.

of Menage, he knew that strangers were well treated, and particularly his countrymen, the friends of the French. He had then attained the twenty-seventh year of his age, and had to prepare himself for a new profession; for on his arrival at Paris, he resolved to devote himself to the study of jurisprudence. The Roman law was at that era a favourite study in France, where it was recommended by the talents and reputation of some of the greatest civilians that have appeared in modern times. He repaired to the university of Bourges, and there enjoyed the advantage of hearing the lectures of three professors, Cujacius, Donellus, and Contius, whose names are highly distinguished in the annals of their science. When he took the degree of LL. D. Cujacius presided at the public act. For an academical student, his age was somewhat advanced; but being possessed of excellent talents, with sufficient powers of application, and having laid the requisite foundation of classical knowledge, he soon rendered himself capable of teaching a science which he had thus learned.¹

The duke of Lorraine, Charles the Second, had recently founded the university of Pontamousson; and Barclay, through the influence of his uncle Edmund Hay, the first rector of this university,² was in 1578 nominated to a professorship of law. Hay is represented as a favourite with the reigning prince; who bestowed other marks of favour

¹ "Comme il avoit l'esprit excellent, qu'il estoit laborieux, et qu'il savoit les lettres humaines, qui sont le fondement de la jurisprudence, il se rendit en peu de tans capable de régenter en droit." (Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, p. 228.) This passage furnishes a sufficient refutation of Dr Mackenzie's statement, that in his early youth he had "entirely neglected to improve those natural parts with which he was endued." (*Lives*, vol. iii. p. 463.) We are indebted to Menage for the best account of Barclay's personal history.

² Ribadeneirae *Catalogus Scriptorum Religionis Societatis Iesu*, p. 49. edit. sec. Antv. 1613, 8vo.

upon the nephew, having not only appointed him dean of the law-faculty, but likewise a counsellor of state, and master of requests. To the discharge of his academical duties, he appears to have devoted himself with ardour and perseverance, and he acquired an honourable name among the lawyers of that learned age. In the year 1581 he married Anne de Malleville, a lady of Lorraine, who bore him an only son destined to extend the celebrity of the family.

During his residence in this university, he published his first and largest work, an ample volume in vindication of the rights of kings.¹ It was printed in the year 1600, with a dedication to the French king, Henry the Fourth. The first two books are directed against the famous dialogue of his countryman Buchanan; the third and fourth against the "*Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*," written by Hubert Languet under the assumed name of Stephanus Junius Brutus; and the last two against a treatise "*De justa Henrici III. Abdicatione e Francorum Regno*," written by Jean Boucher, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who rendered himself notorious for his seditious audacity during the unhappy ascendant of the League. With such a miserable agitator as this, who

¹ Gulielmi Barclaii, illustrissimi Ducis Lotharingiae, etc. Consilarii, Supplicumque Libellorum Magistri, atque in celeberrima Academia Pontimussana J. U. Professoris et Decani, de Regno et Regali Potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos, libri sex. Parisiis, 1600, 4to. This volume ought to contain a curious portrait of the author, which however is very seldom to be found. I have known a separate copy of it sell for L.2, 15s. A good copy of the book itself might be bought for one third of that price. On each side of the portrait are displayed the blazonings of eight different families, with which we may suppose Barclay to have been connected. It is surmounted by the inscription, "*Dominus Protector Vitae meae*;" and the subsequent distich appears below:

Stemmata quid faciunt? Faciunt te sanguine clarum:
At magis ingenii nobilitate micat.

is supposed to have been cognizant of Clement's design to assassinate the king,¹ Buchanan and Languet do not seem to have been very properly associated. Barclay was however anxious to signalize his zeal in so good a cause ; and all the antagonists whom he had thus selected are exposed to very rude assaults. In his attack on the political doctrines of Buchanan, he had been preceded by Blackwood and Winzet, to the latter of whom he repeatedly acknowledges his obligations.

Barclay's son was educated in the College of the Jesuits at Pontamousson, and excited in his instructors so favourable an opinion of his capacity, that they made an attempt to entice him into their order. It was a notable branch of the Jesuitical policy to select youths of the most promising talents, as the future support and ornament of the society ; and although the principle itself is not to be condemned, it is certain that many parents could not approve the arts to which they frequently resorted. Much attention was afterwards excited, when they clandestinely admitted into their order the eldest son of Pierre Ayrault, not merely without the father's consent, but in spite of his very decided remonstrances. This eminent lawyer endeavoured, by legal proceedings, to prevent their attempt to inveigle his son ; and when he found all his exertions ineffectual, he vented his indignation in an appeal to the public.² The society of Jesuits, while it included some of the most learned, likewise included some of the most artful and unscrupulous of mankind. They were powerful friends, and most dangerous enemies. Barclay had no wish to see his only son in the habit of a Jesuit ; and having firmly, if not indignantly, resisted all their endeavours to attract so promising a novice, he excited a degree of resentment

¹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 621.

² *Petri Aerodii, Quaesitoris Andegavi, de Patrio Jure ad Filium Pseudo-Jesuitam*. Paris. 1593, 8vo.

which finally compelled him to quit Lorraine.¹ As the mind of the duke had been prejudiced against him, he in 1603 resigned his chair in disgust, and immediately proceeded to England; where he had some reason to expect his elaborate vindication of the supposed rights of kings could not fail of recommending him to the new sovereign. James himself was an ardent votary of literature; but it can scarcely be affirmed that, in his literary patronage, he was either very discriminating or very generous. His attachment to men of letters seemed in a great measure to have been the result of selfish vanity. Dominicus Baudius, who had supposed him to be a munificent prince, confessed himself to be miserably disappointed when he made a voyage to England, in the hope of being remunerated for the poetical incense which he had offered to James and his eldest son.² The king was unskilled in the invaluable art of economy, which essentially consists in compressing expenditure within the limits of income; and the most unworthy favourites partook so largely of his bounty, that only a small remnant was left for those who would have reflected the highest honour on his patronage. In the present case there was another impediment; for, as Lord

¹ "Si quid enim impurum est in pontificia religione, id triplo in secta Jesuitarum impurius apparet." (Salmasii ad Justum Pacium Epistola, p. 16.)

² "Arbitror te ex indicio famæ factum esse certiores, me superiori mense Augusto transfretasse in Magnam Britanniam, cujus et monarchæ de manu in manum tradidi Salisberiaci Poematia mea, quorum minus malum carmen heroicum ejus honori inscribitur; duo vero Gnomarum Iambicarum libri dedicati sunt principi Britanniarum, quicum horam amplius unam familiariter sum collocutus: sed hac fine stetit omnis regia liberalitas, nec teruncio factus sum propensior, ut vel meo exemplo liquere possit, magnos terrarum dominos posse perdere, non donare." (Baudii Epistolæ, p. 298. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1650, 12mo.) See likewise p. 255. He visited Britain in the year 1607.

Hailes has stated, "William Barclay was conscientiously attached to the church of Rome ; and his son professed the religion of his forefathers. In those days a pension bestowed on a Scottish papist would have been numbered amongst the national grievances ; and the vulgar would not have distinguished between favour shewn to genius or learning, and partiality for the opinions of the person favoured." He however experienced a gracious reception ; and the king is said to have promised him a liberal appointment, on condition of his renouncing the Romish faith. With this condition his conscience would not permit him to comply ; and before the close of the same year he proceeded to Paris, with little money, and without any immediate prospect of employment.

It fortunately happened that a law-professorship was then vacant in the university of Angers: Marin Liberge had died so long ago as the year 1599, and his chair still remained unoccupied. The citizens of Angers, anxious to secure a lawyer of talents and reputation, empowered the younger Pierre Ayrault, who happened at that time to be in Paris, to enter into a negotiation with Barclay. A deputation, consisting of Ayrault and several other gentlemen connected with the administration or practice of the law in the province, waited upon him with an offer of the first place in the law-faculty. This invitation was too honourable to be rejected, and he accordingly concluded an engagement for five years. When he entered upon his office, he had however some opposition to encounter: François Davy, dean, and Mathieu Le Grand, sub-dean of the faculty, felt a very natural reluctance to relinquish the places which they then occupied ; but a decree of the university, pronounced on the 7th of February 1605, confirmed to him the rank of dean or first professor. From this decision Davy made an unsuccessful appeal, but he was reinstated after the death of his competitor.

Barclay was anxious to support in all respects the dignity

of his office, nor did he fail in his attention to external magnificence. When he walked to the hall where he was to read his lecture, he was habited in a superb gown, with a massy chain of gold about his neck, and was followed by his son and two valets. In this university he taught with high reputation. His celebrity was increased by the publication of his elaborate commentary on the titles of the Pandects "*De Rebus creditis*," and "*De Jurejurando*."¹ This work, which appeared in 1605, he dedicated to King James; against whom, it may therefore be presumed, he did not suppose himself to have any reasonable ground of complaint. Here he even states that he was preparing a volume destined to record his majesty's character and actions.² But in the midst of such labours and projects, his earthly career was speedily terminated. Towards the close of the same year, he died at Angers, before he had completed the age of sixty.³

¹ Gulielmi Barclaii, J. C. antehac serenissimi Lotharingiae, &c. Ducis Consiliari, Supplicumque Libellorum Magistri, atq. in celeberrima Academia Pontimussana J. U. Professoris ac Decani, nunc vero in nobilissima Andegavensi Universitate Antecessoris Primarii, in Titulos Pandectarum de Rebus creditis, et de Jurejurando Commentarii. Parisiis, 1605, 8vo. This work, a considerable volume, is inserted in the great collection of Otto, *Thesaurus Juris Romani*, tom. iii.

² "Animus mihi fuit tuas hic fusius virtutes exequi, et clementiam atque animum cum fortuna certantem describere; ac fecissem equidem, ni ea omnia reservarem in volumen quod de genio rebusque tuis jamjam in libellos digero, ut quod semper aliis, id et majestati tue aliquando notum sit, nihil mihi unquam tua laude, nihil regis dotibus ac pene divinis, charius atque antiquius extitisse." Barclay mentions another literary enterprize which he did not live to execute: "*Sed nos ea de re in libris de Corruptione Seculi, si Deus vitam et vires dederit, uberius et explicatius disputabimus.*" (*De Potestate Papae*, p. 273.)

³ The inscription on Barclay's portrait states that in 1599 he was in the fifty-third year of his age. We thus ascertain that he was born in 1546, and as he died in 1605, he must then have reached or

After an interval of four years, his treatise on the power of the pope was published by his son.¹ It was not the object of this treatise to controvert the spiritual supremacy of the pope, which the author was ready to admit in its most orthodox sense ; but while he acknowledged his power and jurisdiction in things spiritual, he strenuously opposed his usurpation of temporal power, especially over the dominions of sovereign princes. Here he had to contend with canonists and theologians, nor did they find him unprepared. His arguments are to a great extent directed against Bellarmine, the most famous controversialist of that controversial age. The cardinal was a man of great subtilty of intellect, and, like other Jesuits, was a strenuous defender of the papal pretensions. According to the canonists, the pope has received directly from God a supremacy in temporal, as well as in spiritual power ; but some theologians have endeavoured to modify this doctrine, by averring that it is only indirectly, and by virtue of his spiritual, that he superinduces his temporal power, which is also supreme. Cardinal Bellarmine was one of those who maintained the latter opinion ; and for this reason, notwithstanding his extravagant and preposterous claims on behalf of the bishop of Rome, his answer to Barclay was inserted in the index of heretical and prescribed books. To us, who live in a more enlight-

or completed his fifty-ninth year.—This portrait, not faithfully copied, may likewise be found in Crasso's *Elogii degli Huomini Letterati*, parte ii. p. 195. Venetia, 1666, 2 part. 4to. The notice of his life is not sufficiently accurate ; and the same remark is applicable to that which occurs in Ghilini's *Teatro d'Huomini Letterati*, vol. ii. p. 162. Venetia, 1647, 2 vol. 4to.

¹ *De Potestate Papae, an et quatenus in Reges et Principes seculares Jus et Imperium habeat* ; Guil. Barclaii, J. C. Liber posthumus. Anno 1609, 8vo. Mussiponti, 1610, 8vo. This work may likewise be found in Goldasti *Monarchia*, tom. iii. p. 621. Barclay's two treatises, *De Regno* and *De Potestate Papae*, have repeatedly been printed in one volume. Hanoviae, 1612, 8vo. Hanoviae, 1617, 8vo.

ened age, and in a country where common sense has long been accustomed to raise her voice, it appears amazing beyond all power of utterance, that any large portion of mankind should have been so grossly infatuated as to listen, for a single hour, to the intense ravings of an arrogant old priest, who pretended that he had received from heaven the power of punishing and dethroning kings and emperors. This was doubtless a sequel to the cunningly-devised fable of his spiritual power, which has so long deluded its thousands and ten thousands of votaries. But a supposed spiritual power, referring to a future and untried state of existence, afforded many opportunities of exciting the hopes and fears of those whom their ignorance permitted to lean on a broken reed, and to be easily deceived by lying wonders. The extent and long continuance of such a delusion is a subject of equal amazement and regret; but it seems still more amazing that, in affairs of temporal concernment, where men of the plainest understandings are not so easily bewildered, the most audacious and unfounded claims to supremacy of power should at first have been heard with patience, and finally with complete acquiescence. All these high prerogatives the bishop of Rome claims as the successor of St Peter in his apostleship, as well as his see. That Peter ever visited Rome, has been considered as more than doubtful;¹ but, at all events, that in the apostleship there was no succession, seems to be almost as evident as any other fact in the history of the primitive church.² The

¹ Salmasii Apparatus ad Libros de Primatu, p. 14. See however what is stated by the learned Bishop Pearson, de Successione primorum Romae Episcoporum, p. 32.

² "Apostolatus enim," says Bishop Downham, "erat functio, quae post fundatas semel ecclesias, successionem non admisit, sed cum ipsis apostolis desiit." (Papa Antichristus, sive, Diatriba de Antichristo, p. 110. Lond. 1620, 4to.) Some protestant bishops of more recent times have advanced a claim, equally modest and judicious, to be considered as the successors of the apostles. Here it is to

stupendous fabric of papal dominion, founded on multifarious frauds and delusions, attained its full vigour and maturity in the eleventh century, under the auspices of Hildebrand, who was elected in the year 1073, and assumed the name of Gregory the Seventh. It was one of his dictates that the church of Rome has never erred, and, according to the testimony of scripture, shall never err;¹ and after this maxim was fully admitted, nothing remained to obstruct the progress of spiritual arrogance. He pronounced sentence of deposition, as well as of excommunication, against the emperor Henry the Fourth, having thus set the first example, which many of his successors were sufficiently disposed to imitate, of exercising a temporal power that belongs to no created being. The emperor at length laid siege to Rome; and the pontiff was under the necessity of retiring to Salerno, where he terminated a career which had been marked by great ability, and by the most daring and unprincipled ambition.² Thus at length the infallibility of the church, and the unlimited power of its visible head, were unhesitatingly proposed to the blind credence of mankind. And now was the Man of Sin completely

be remarked that the papists introduce a distinction; for, according to Bellarmin, the pope does not properly succeed St Peter as an apostle, but as the ordinary pastor of the whole church. (*De Summo Pontifice*, lib. iv. cap. xxv.) This is a more indirect road to the same place.

¹ Maastricht, *Historia Juris Ecclesiastici et Pontificii*, p. 297. Amst. 1686, 8vo.

² Mornay *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, seu, *Historia Papatus*, p. 255. Salmurii, 1611, fol. Bower's *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 289. The history of this atrocious saint, who was a great worker of miracles, is copiously detailed by Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xi. p. 408. seq. His character is likewise very stoutly defended by Bellarmin, *de Summo Pontifice*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. "Haec doctrina pontificia," says Conring, "et haeresis Hildebrandina, in qua tamen omnes pontificii vivunt, totum terrarum orbem perturbavit." (*Opera* tom. ii. p. 3.)

“revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.”¹ This system of spiritual tyranny and delusion en-

¹ See Dr Benson's Dissertation concerning the Man of Sin, Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 386; and Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 28. See likewise Dr More's Mystery of Iniquity, p. 441. Lond. 1664, fol. From the time of Hildebrand, many pious and reflecting men began to perceive that Antichrist was at length revealed. (Dounami Diatriba de Antichristo, p. 138.) The Waldenses and Albigenses, and indeed almost all the early reformers, recognized, in the bishop of Rome, the son of perdition, whose appearance had been foretold by the apostle of the Gentiles. Robert Groteste, the famous bishop of Lincoln, who died in the year 1253, is said, when on his death-bed, to have denounced the pope as a heretic and Antichrist. (Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. i. p. 178.) From the age of Luther, the same opinion was almost universally adopted by the protestants. Bellarmin maintained that Antichrist was not yet come, and that we are to expect an individual, and not a succession of individuals. His disputation on this subject, which occupies the third book of his most elaborate and most audacious treatise *De Summo Pontifice*, was followed by an immense number of separate answers; and it was incidentally refuted by most of the protestant writers who discussed the leading topics of controversy between the two churches. One of the ablest of these answers was published by Bishop Abbot, under the title of *Antichristi Demonstratio, contra Fabulas Pontificias, et ineptas Roberti Bellarmini de Antichristo Disputationem*. Lond. 1603, 4to. To this subject he recurs in the first part of his *Defence of the Reformed Catholicke* of M. W. Perkins, p. 39. Lond. 1606, 4to. His Latin work is highly commended in the *Scaligerana*, p. 1. Here however some protestants deserted the common cause. One of these was Richard Montague, successively bishop of Bath and Norwich, a learned man, but more than half-inclined to popery; who endeavoured to prove that the marks of Antichrist are to be recognized, not in the pope, but in the Turk. (*Appello Caesarem*: a ivst Appaele from two vniust Informers, p. 149. Lond. 1625, 4to.) This opinion, which was adopted by other writers, is briefly refuted in Mede's Works, p. 645. Another hypothesis was divulged by Grotius in the year 1640, in his *Commentatio ad Loca quaedam*

countered no effectual resistance before the age of Luther. The bishop of Rome's usurpation of temporal power, beyond the limits of his own dominions, was no doubt opposed as vigorously as they could, by those princes to whose detriment it was exercised ; and even among the ecclesiastics who acknowledged his spiritual authority, some individuals successively appeared who had the courage to maintain, in opposition to the pontifical maxims, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. Our countryman John Mair, a worthy doctor of the Sorbonne, " taught that a general council was superior to the pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity ; denied the temporal supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes ; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds ; he held that tithes were not of divine right, but

Novi Testamenti quae de Antichristo agunt aut agere putantur. According to this hypothesis, the man of sin, mentioned in 2 *Thess.* ii. was the emperor Caius Caligula, who intended to place his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem ; and " he who now letteth," was Lucius Vitellius, who interfered with the execution of this impious design. But as a part of the prediction seems inapplicable to the emperor, he has recourse to the supplementary agency of Simon Magus. By the coming of Christ, he understands the destruction of Jerusalem. His work was speedily assailed by Bochart, Des Marets, Du Moulin, Cocceius, Laurentius, and Slichtingius. The last of these writers was a Socinian, and published his tract under the assumed name of Joannes Simplicius. (*Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum*, p. 128. Freistadii, 1684, 8vo.) This inadequate and disjointed hypothesis was unworthy of its illustrious author. He was disposed to make too many concessions to the papists ; and, as his book was written in France, he has himself suggested another reason why he did not represent the pope as Antichrist. "*Qui mirantur me papam non habere pro illo Antichristo, norint me et amantem esse veri, et in Gallia vivere, ubi contrarium profiteri contra imperium est regis.*" (*Grotii Epistolae*, p. 938. b.)

merely of human appointment ; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome, and of the episcopal order ; was no warm friend of the regular clergy ; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays.¹ But this direct opposition was chiefly confined to France ; where it was the policy of the government, and consequently became the practice of the church, to resist the interference of the pope in matters beyond his spiritual jurisdiction.

Barclay did not live to complete his design ; and, in most cases, a posthumous work must appear under considerable disadvantages. His treatise however produced a strong sensation, and it has generally been regarded as the ablest of his works. It passed through various editions, was translated into English,² and twice into French.³

Of his commentary on a portion of the Pandects, it is sufficient praise to state that it has procured him an honourable rank among civilians.⁴ His work on the rights of kings is evidently the production of a man of talents and learning, exhibiting a copious admixture of jurisprudence, history, and theology. His reverence for kings, good or bad, he has carried to a sufficient extent ; but, as Locke

¹ Maccrie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 7.

² The English version is printed with the treatise of Sheldon, *Of the Lawfulness of the Oath of Allegiance*. Lond. 1611, 4to.

³ Pontamousson, 1611, 8vo. Cologne, 1688, 12mo.—“ *Le livre De Potestate Papae, de Barclay le père, est un ouvrage excellent. On en a fait une traduction qui est aussi fort bonne.*” (*Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. 19.)

⁴ An eminent Spanish civilian, Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, has described Barclay as “ *doctus et expeditus interpres.*” (*Majansii Epistolarum libri sex*, p. 262. edit. Lips. 1737, 4to.) See likewise Otto, *Thesaurus Juris Romani*, tom. iii. p. xxxiv. and Terrasson, *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 431. Paris, 1750, fol. This historian remarks in reference to Scotland, “ *ce royaume a même produit plusieurs grands jurisconsultes ;*” and he then introduces notices of Scrimger and Barclay.

has stated, there are certain cases in which "Barclay, the great champion of absolute monarchy, is forced to allow that a king may be resisted, and ceases to be a king."¹ The abstract rights of sovereigns and subjects were at that period very imperfectly understood. They were chiefly discussed by two classes of individuals, divines and lawyers, whose hopes of advancement attracted them towards the king rather than the people; but the abject sycophancy of many ages was at length superseded by a better spirit, which taught men to respect themselves, while they duly respected their lawful governors. The gross and profane adulation which soothed the ear of King James, contributed to allure his son to a very tragical doom; and when his grandson, without having derived any wisdom from experience, returned from long exile and adversity, the spirit of courtly adulation seemed to have suffered little or no abatement. Bishop Sanderson, in one of his court sermons, avers that it is not expedient to take up arms against a lawful sovereign; "not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of our selves or others; nor for the defence of religion; not for the preservation of a church or state; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the sal-

¹ Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, p. 304, 5th edit. Lond. 1728, 8vo. Grotius had made a similar remark: "*Barclaius, regii imperii assertor fortissimus, huc tamen descendit, ut populo et insigni ejus parti jus concedat se tuendi adversus immanem sævitiam; cum tamen ipse fateatur totum populum regi subditum esse.*" (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. i. cap. iv. § vii. 4.) Of the two works of Buchanan and Barclay, another learned writer speaks in the following terms: "*Contra hunc librum, et ejusmodi argumenti, calamum strinxit Wilhelmus Barclaius, edito libro contra Monarchomachos. Meretur et ille legi, licet omnia, quæ ibi inveniuntur, non temere quis possit probare. Uterque excessit modum; Barclaius in defendendo et ampliando regio jure, hic in imminuendo.*" (*Conringi Opera*, tom. iv. p. 230.) Barclay's work he elsewhere mentions with commendation: "*Opus doctum, et arguit lectionem multam, et judicium acre, mereturque accurate expendi.*" (*Tom. ii. p. 261.*)

vation of a soul, no, not for the redemption of the whole world."¹ Was not this a dainty dish to set before a king? The superstitious and extravagant veneration which the clergy and laity of this party professed to feel for royalty, cannot escape the observation of any one acquainted with the writers of the seventeenth century. Lord Clarendon has instituted a most indecent comparison between the death of King Charles and that of the Saviour of mankind. He speaks of "the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, and the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that ever was committed since that of our blessed Saviour." Lord Dover, who has placed the noble historian's character in a true light, is shocked at the gross profanity of such expressions;² but it does not exceed the profanity of the subsequent passage in a letter of Sancroft, which appears not to have shocked the archbishop's biographer. "The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the Son of God poured out his. And now we

¹ Sanderson's Sermons; *ad Aulam*, p. 166. edit. Lond. 1671, fol.—"Instead of being ashamed of slavery," says Dr Wallace, "an abject spirit of submitting to tyranny, and holding the authority of tyrants sacred, has been reputed honourable. Hence the many strenuous defenders of the absolute power of princes, of the indefeasible right of their heirs to succeed to their despotic power, and of the unlawfulness of resisting them in any case, or upon any pretence whatsoever. This is the system, which, under the notion of supporting loyalty, asserting the rights of princes, preserving peace, preventing faction, and rendering society more stable, some noted philosophers have maintained to be agreeable to nature, historians to be confirmed by experience, lawyers to be established by law, and divines to be founded on the gospel. Nay, these last gentlemen have enforced it upon our consciences, under the pain of eternal damnation." (*Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence*, p. 90. Lond. 1761, 8vo.)

² See Lord Dover's *Historical Inquiries respecting the Character of Clarendon*, p. 176. Lond. 1827, 8vo.

have nothing left but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that he would show forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten his coming to judgment, and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can reach, or thought conceive without horror and amazement."¹

Mr Fox has remarked, "it must never be forgotten, if we would understand the history of this period, that the truly orthodox members of the church regarded monarchy, not as a human, but as a divine institution, and passive obedience, and non-resistance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion."² Of the justice of this remark, we find a striking confirmation in a work destined to promote "the immortal glory of our church," but nevertheless exhibiting a singular monument of the abject and time-serving spirit of churchmen.³ During the disgraceful reign of the second Charles, the university of Oxford exhausted all its powers of political prostitution in conciliating the popish head of a protestant church. On the 21st of July 1683, a decree was passed in full convocation, "against certain pernicious books, and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society."⁴ In this precious decree, which

¹ D'Oyly's *Life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 43. Lond. 1821, 2 vols. 8vo.

² Fox's *Hist. of James the Second*, p. 264. "Il ne faut point," says Leibnitz, "confondre l'église et la nation. L'église en elle-même doit une obéissance passive : le règne de Jésus Christ n'est pas de ce monde ; mais les nations ne sont pas obligées de se laisser ruiner par le caprice et la méchanceté d'un seul." (*Opera*, tom. vi. p. 273.)

³ *The History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*. Amsterdam, 1689, 4to. *A Continuation of the History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*. Amst. 1690, 4to.

⁴ Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 223. Sraithi *Vita R. Huntingtoni*, p. xxv. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 188. In the year

was prepared by Dr Jane, regius professor of divinity, and dean of Gloucester, the first proposition stigmatized as damnable is, that "all civil authority is derived originally from the people;" and the second, that "there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs." All the principles on which a free government can find any solid basis, were sacrificed at the unhallowed shrine of Charles the Second. Not satisfied with the condemnation of pernicious and damnable doctrines, this protestant inquisition adjudged certain works of Buchanan, Calderwood, Milton, Baxter, Owen, and other heretics, to be publicly burned in the court of the Schools, as books that were fitted to disgrace men's manners, stir up seditions and tumults, overthrow states and kingdoms, and lead to rebellion, the murder of princes, and to atheism itself; and a prohibition, under heavy penalties, was issued against reading any of the said books. During the following year, Mr Parkinson, a fellow of Lincoln College, was expelled the university for maintaining that the foundation of all power is in the people, that kings are accountable for their mal-administration, and in particular that Charles the First was justly put to death for making war upon his subjects.¹ With regard to Locke's expulsion from Christ Church, much has been written by the friends and enemies of Oxford; but however successful Lord Grenville may have been in his attempt to prove, that no responsibility belongs to the university for a base act performed by the head of a particular college, it will not perhaps be so easy to find an apology for this rigorous treatment of a contemporary. Such was the spirit of the place, that this loyal and orthodox body seemed prepared to sacrifice every thing

1710 the House of Lords ordered the Oxford decree to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

¹ Hist. of Passive Obedience, p. 18.

but their own privileges and emoluments: the lives and property of all other subjects were very much at the king's service; but the king must not encroach on the property of the church, for in that case one divine right would jostle against another. Within the space of four years from the date of this decree, the fellows of Magdalen College convinced King James, that, however suitable a blind obedience might be for laymen, it was not in all cases to be expected from the clergy: they boldly disregarded two mandates, enjoining them to elect first one popish president, and then another; nor were they moved from their steadfast purpose by the presence of the king himself, who was filled with inexorable anger, and reviled them as an undutiful, unmannerly, refractory, and turbulent body. And indeed it cannot excite much surprise, that this infatuated monarch should have been totally unprepared for any resistance from those who had made such extravagant professions of loyalty. "The minds of princes," says Mr Hall, "are seldom of the firmest texture; and they who fill their heads with the magnificent chimera of divine right, prepare a victim where they intend a god."¹ The truth of this remark is strikingly illustrated in the following passage of Bishop Burnet. "I found the ill effects the carrying of this matter so far had on the mind of that unfortunate prince, King James; for, in a conversation with him, I told him it was impossible for him to reign in quiet in this nation, being of that religion: he answered me quick, 'Does not the church of England maintain the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience?' I begged him not to depend on that, as there was a distinction in that matter that would be found out when men thought they needed it." This prediction was speedily verified in the case of the university as a body, and very conspicuously in the in-

¹ Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press, and for general Liberty, p. v. 7th edit. Lond. 1822, 8vo.

dividual case of the same Dr Jane, who had testified his high-church zeal by penning the decree. "When the prince of Orange was at Hungerford in his march towards London, the doctor with three others was sent from the university of Oxford, to make him an offer of their plate, which though the prince handsomely refused, the doctor thought he had merited whatever he should think proper to ask, and accordingly asked the bishoprick of Exeter, which was void by the removal of Bishop Lamplugh to the archbishoprick of York; and not succeeding according to his desire (for it had before been promised to Dr Trelawney, bishop of Bristol) this so far disgusted him, that he was ever after a professed enemy to King William and his government."¹

Of the same species of episcopal eloquence with that of Sanderson, many other choice specimens might be produced, from the age of Bishop Manwaring to that of Bishop Horsley. The last of these time-serving prelates, though sufficiently disposed to recommend himself by the violence of his zeal, did not venture quite so far in his political doctrines, when he preached his notable sermon before the lords spiritual and temporal, at the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of St Charles: he has however taken considerable pains to exhibit the doctrine of passive obedience in a new and improved form. Though he finds himself compelled to admit that cases may occur in which the sovereign power may be conferred by an act of the people, yet he views with much sanctified horror "that god of the republican's idolatry, the consent of the ungoverned millions of mankind."² This bugbear of republicanism was at that period extremely useful to many candidates for pre-

¹ Life of Humphrey Prideaux, D.D. Dean of Norwich, p. 55. Lond. 1748, 8vo.

² Horsley's Sermons, vol. iii. p. 312. According to the same pontifical authority, "the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them."

ferment. Hoadley, to whom the cause of civil liberty has so many obligations, is stigmatized as a "republican bishop;" and all those who adopt the political tenets of Locke, are "republican theorists." If the gale of preferment had blown from an opposite point of the political compass, this arrogant churchman would in all human probability have been an outrageous Whig. In the midst of his burning zeal to reprobate the opinions of those who refer the origin of government to the general consent of the governed, he might have recollected the concession of another political dignitary, Dr Tucker, the late dean of Gloucester; namely, "that tho' government in general did not derive its existence from any personal contract between prince and people, between the governors and the governed, yet that it hath so much of what a civilian would term a *quasi contract* in the nature of it, that the duties and obligations on both sides of the relation are altogether to the same effect, as if a particular contract, and a positive engagement had been entered into."¹ The bishop begins his discourse by reprehending the folly of indulging in freedom of dispute, "upon

¹ Tucker's Treatise concerning Civil Government, p. 139. Lond. 1781, 8vo. This publication was speedily followed by Dr Towers's Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr Locke, in answer to the Objections of the Rev. Dr Tucker, Dean of Gloucester. Lond. 1782, 8vo. The latter work is reprinted in the collection of the author's Tracts on Political and other Subjects, vol. i. Lond. 1796, 3 vols. 8vo. The principles of Locke were about the same time assailed by Soame Jenyns, in the seventh of his Disquisitions on several Subjects. Lond. 1782, 8vo. Both these antagonists received the best answer from the satirical pen of Mason, in the Dean and Squire, a Political Eclogue. The dialogue commences thus :

'Squire Jenyns, since with like intent
We both have wit on government,
And both stand stubborn as a rock
Against the principles of Locke,
Let us, like brother meeting brother,
Compare our notes with one another.

matters of such high importance as the origin of government and the authority of sovereigns ;" and it must be confessed that the sequel is not unworthy of such a commencement. The right of indulging in such speculations, it was probably his wish to extend no farther than to the lords spiritual and temporal, and to the treasury benches in the commons house of parliament. Another ecclesiastical writer on politics has wisely determined, that the right of governing belongs in the abstract to wisdom and goodness. "No man," says Mr Nares, "can have a right to do an act for which he is altogether unfit. Wisdom and goodness alone have, in reason, any right to govern, since they alone are fit for it. The foolish and the wicked, therefore, in proportion to the extent of those imperfections, are disqualified from government by nature, or by themselves, and ought to be controuled."¹ The matter, we may thus perceive, is tolerably well arranged between the bishop and the archdeacon : the one is ready to quell all abstract speculation on the principles of political science, and the other will only entrust the reins of government to the wise and good ; nor can we reasonably doubt that the wise and good are such individuals as hold precisely his own opinions.

William Barclay, M. D., has sometimes been confounded with the civilian. He was the brother of Sir Patrick Barclay of Tolly,² and was likewise related to his learned namesake. This latter fact is ascertained by the hendecasyllables subjoined to his notes on Tacitus, and bearing the subsequent

¹ Nares's Principles of Government, deduced from Reason, supported by English Experience, and opposed to French Errors, p. 12. Lond. 1792, 8vo

² Dr Barclay has himself mentioned the place of his birth : "Nam Collonia (sic castrum vocatur in quo primum terram tetigi) sita est in littore quod 'tam vasto atque aperto mari pulsatur.' Quo loco, ut obiter dicam, non pauca sunt vestigia veterum bellorum, cum Anglis præsertim. Est in eodem littore, in territorio gentis Barclayanae, portus quidam, qui nostra lingua *Auld-heaven* appellatur." (Præmetia, p. 561.)

inscription : " Nobili et clarissimo viro Guil. Barclayo, cognato meo, pro explicato Taciti Agricola, Joannes Barclayus, Guil. F. scripsi." The writer of these verses, we may remark, must have been only seventeen years of age. Barclay prosecuted his studies in the university of Louvain under Justus Lipsius, a great master of Roman literature ; and to him this distinguished professor has addressed several letters which have been printed.¹ He describes himself as A. M. and M. D. ; but where he took those degrees, we are not informed. Having been appointed a professor in the university of Paris, he there taught humanity for several years, and acquired a considerable share of reputation by his talents and learning. He afterwards visited his native country, where he appears to have followed the medical profession ; but it may be inferred from Dempster's brief notice, that in consequence of his adherence to popery, his situation was rendered uncomfortable by the clergy, and having returned to France, he resumed his former occupation at Nantes in Bretagne.² The same

¹ Lipsii Epist. Select. cent. iii. ep. xxxiii. Epist. cent. ad Germanos et Gallos, ep. lvi. Burmanni Sylloge Epistolarum, tom. ii. p. 27. In a preceding page we find an epistle from Guilielmus Barclaius, J. C. to Lipsius, dated at Pontamousson on the 14th of April 1597. " Multi apud me," he begins, " multa honorifice et saepius de te praedicarunt ; at nemo hactenus liberius et libentius quam hic juvenis, cognatus meus, cui has ad te commisi." This young kinsman was apparently his namesake, who likewise appears to be the writer of the letter which immediately follows. He is mentioned in a letter from F. Douza to Lipsius, dated at Paris on the 24th of October 1598. " Cum Guilielmus Barclay, vir doctus, tibi quae intima familiaritate conjunctus, tuas ad se literas nuper mihi ostenderet," &c. (Tom. i. p. 233.) Erycius Puteanus, the successor of Lipsius, has likewise addressed an epistle to Barclay. (Epistolarum Atticarum Promulsis, cent. i. epist. x.)

² " Inde in Scotiam profectus aliquantisper substitit, donec ministri illi Sathanae magna eum molestia afficientes solum vertere coegerunt, qui in Gallia iterum docere bonas artes sustinuit Nanneti in Britannia Minore." (Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 120.)

literary historian mentions that, at the period of his writing, Barclay was residing in Scotland, and, according to his information, was pursuing the practice of physic. The following is a list of all the publications of Dr Barclay with which I am acquainted.

1. Guilielmi Barclayi Oratio pro Eloquentia. Ad v. cl. Ludovicum Servinum, Sacri Consistorii Regii Consiliarium, et in amplissimo Senatu Parisiensi Regis Advocatum. Paris. 1598, 8vo.

2. C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant, ad exemplar quod J. Lipsius quintum recensuit. Seorsim excusi commentarii ejusdem Lipsii, meliores plenioresque, cum curis secundis, et auctariolo non ante adjecto. Guil. Barclayus Praemetia quaedam ex Vita Agricolae libavit. Adjecti sunt indices aliquanto ditiores. Paris. 1599, 8vo.—Menage and Bayle have ascribed these Praemetia to the civilian, and the same error has been committed by other writers.¹

3. Nepenthes, or the Vertves of Tobacco. By William Barclay, Mr of Art, and Doctor of Physicke. Edinb. 1614, 8vo.—This tract is dedicated to the author's nephew, Patrick, the son and heir of Sir Patrick Barclay of Tolly; and the dedication is preceded by "A merie Epistle of the Author to the Printer," who is no other than "good Master Hart." To this worthy friend he makes the following communication: "If I find fauour in this essay, I shal send you shortly, Godwilling, a scholasticall subiect, and a curious litle worke, fit onely for those which aspire to the top of Pindus. The one wil bring to your shop the common sort of people, the other the most learned." At the end of the tract he has inserted six little poems, the first of which is addressed to Alexander Craig.

4. Callirhoe, commonly called the Well of Spa, or the

¹ Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, p. 230. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 443. Nicéron, *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xvii. p. 289.

Nymph of Aberdene, resuscitat by William Barclay, Mr of Art, and Doctor of Physick. What Diseases may be cured by drinking of the Well of Spa at Aberdene, and what is the true use thereof. As it was printed by Andro Hart *Anno Domini* 1615, and now reprinted at Aberdene by Iohn Forbes younger, Printer to the Town and Universitie, *Anno Domini* M. DC. LXX. 8vo.

5. Guil. Barclayi, Amoeniorum Artium, et Medicinæ Doctoris, Judicium de Certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano, pro Dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi ciiii. *Non violandi Manes*. Adjecta sunt, Eglisemmii ipsum Judicium, ut editum fuit Londini, typis Eduardi Aldaei, an. Dom. 1619; et, in gratiam studiosae juventutis, ejusdem Psalmi elegans Paraphrasis Thomae Rhaedi. Lond. 1620, 8vo.—Dr Eglisham, like a fair as well as a bold critic, exhibited his own verses in competition with those of Buchanan, and had no reason to congratulate himself on the issue. He was likewise assailed by another learned physician, Arthur Johnston, who, in two sarcastic and elegant poems, treated his case as one of decided insanity.

6. Guil. Barclayii, M. D. Poemata. *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 137.—These poems only occupy four pages and a half.

ROBERT BALFOUR.

OF Robert Balfour, who occupies no mean place among the learned men of a very learned age, the notices hitherto collected are extremely scanty and meagre. As he left his native country at an early period of life, few domestic anecdotes are now to be gleaned; nor was he so fortunate as to find a foreign biographer when the particulars of his personal history could best be ascertained.

The time of his birth is uncertain, but it may be conjectured that he was born about the year 1550. According to the statement of David Buchanan, he derived his lineage from a distinguished family in Fifeshire,¹ apparently the family of which one branch was ennobled in the person of Sir Michael, created Lord Balfour of Burleigh in the year 1607.² This statement is confirmed by Sir Robert Sibbald;³ but he has himself informed us that he was a native of Forfarshire.⁴ From a passage in a poem address-

¹ Davidis Buchanani de Scriptoribus Scotis libri duo, nunc primum editi, p. 129. Edinb. 1837, 4to.

² Wood's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 179.

³ After mentioning several branches of the Balfour family connected with Fifeshire, he subjoins, "*Nec omittere possum Robertum Balfourium Angusianum, Academiae Aquitanicae apud Burdegallenses moderatorem, multis scriptis impressis celebrem.*" (Sibbaldi Memoria Balfouriana, p. 2.)

⁴ "In Angusia Scotiae, natali meo solo, ubi polus 53 fere gradibus attollitur, dies aetivus 18 horarum est, nox autem sex." (Balforei Commentarius in Cleomedem, p. 196.)

ed to Balfour by his friend Kidd, it appears that their youthful intimacy had commenced on the northern banks of the Tay, not far from its junction with the waves of the ocean.

A primo conjunxit amor quem limine vitae,
Sera sub Arctoe natus divortia ripae,
Littora piscoso repens ubi devia Taus
Circuit anfractu, villis tot margine villas,
Urbibus associans urbes, multumque sonoris
Occano famulatur aquis; ineuntibus annis
Quodque domi nascens junxit pueritia certae
Foedus amicitiae, quo longior exiit aetas,
Firmius invaluit, nec vis disjunxerit ulla.
Hic desiderium studiis ignobilis oti,
Artibus et patriae damnum solamur honestis,
Hic refluxo pontum surgens ubi molliter aestu
Provocat aequoreae moles generosa Garumnae.

This description apparently circumscribes the locality to the neighbourhood of Dundee; and of this town, as Dempster informs us, Kidd was a native. From a school in his native district Balfour was sent to the university of St Andrews, where he is said to have made great progress in his studies, and to have afforded sufficient promise of his future eminence in letters. After this preparation, he proceeded to France, and became a student in the university of Paris. Here he likewise distinguished himself in academical learning, and particularly by the ability with which he publicly maintained certain philosophical theses against all opposers. He was afterwards invited to Bordeaux by the archbishop of that see,¹ and there he found employment well suited to his attainments.²

¹ This must have been Antoine Prevost de Sansac, who was consecrated archbishop of Bordeaux in the month of June 1561, and died on the 17th of October 1591. (D. Sammarthani Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. c. 849.)

² D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scotis, p. 129.

Bordeaux could in ancient times boast of a flourishing academy,¹ and of the poetical talents of its citizen Ausonius, by whom the merits of several contemporary professors have been commemorated. The university was not however founded till the year 1441.² The College of Guienne, of which Balfour became a member, was reëstablished in the year 1534, when Andrew Govea, a learned Portuguese, arrived from Paris to fill the office of principal.³ Some of its early professors were men of great distinction, particularly Buchanan, Muretus, and Anthony Govea, the principal's youngest brother; who, according to Thuanus, was the only man of that age regarded, by the common consent of the learned, as a very elegant scholar, a great philosopher, and a most able civilian.⁴ His answer to Ramus, who had the courage to attack the dominant philosophy of Aristotle, was followed by a controversy which produced no small commotion in the university of Paris, and which was terminated, though not decided, by a royal mandate.⁵ Muretus, one of the most elegant and accomplished of mo-

¹ Bulaei Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. i. p. 46.

² Expilly, Dictionnaire Geographique, Historique, et Politique des Gaules et de la France, tom. i. p. 688.

³ * André de Govea Portugais est appelé de Paris pour estre principal du College de Guyene: remet, avec l'assistance de plusieurs excellens personnages, ledit college, entre lesquels estoient Math. Corderius, Claude Budin, Ant. Govea, Jean Costa, George Buchanan, Nic. Gruchius, Guil. Guarentée, Iacq. Teuius, et Elie Vinet." (Gabriel de Lurbe, Chronique Bovrdealoise, f. 40. a. edit. de Bovrdeavs, 1619, 4to.)

⁴ Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii. p. 468. An elaborate account of his life is prefixed to an edition of his works, published under the title of Antonii Goveani Opera Juridica, Philologica, Philosophica. Ex bibliotheca viri nobilis Gerardi Meerman edidit, vitamque auctoris praemisit Jacobus van Vaassen, Jurisconsultus. Rotterdam, 1766, fol.

⁵ Launoy de varia Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi Fortuna liber, p. 100. Lut. Paris. 1653, 8vo. Werenfelsii Dissertatio de Logomachiis Eruditorum, p. 58. edit. Amst. 1702, 8vo.

dern scholars, became a professor at Bordeaux in the year 1546. The talents and attainments of these and other eminent individuals conferred a high reputation on the college to which they belonged ; and it was once regarded as the best seminary in France for the elementary instruction of youth.¹ In the year 1555 it maintained fifteen regents or professors. The College of the Jesuits was founded in 1573, and did not ultimately contribute to the prosperity of the university.

Of Balfour's appointment to a professor's chair, the date is uncertain. The subsequent notice occurs in a letter which Vinetus addressed to George Buchanan on the 9th of June 1581. "This school is rarely without a Scotchman : it has two at present, one of whom is professor of philosophy, the other of the Greek language and of mathematics ; both are good, honest, and learned men, and enjoy the favourable opinion of their auditors."² The first of these individuals was probably William Hegate, who was appointed to a professorship at Bordeaux after having taught at Poitiers, Dijon, and Paris. Dempster, who was personally acquainted with him, has bestowed high commendation, not only on his talents and erudition, but likewise on his manners, which he describes as seasoned with a festive gravity.³ The professor of the Greek language and of mathematics was undoubtedly Balfour. He is mentioned

¹ Du Chesne, *Antiquitez et Recherches des Villes, Chasteaux, et Places plus remarquables de toute la France*, p. 751.

² *Buchanani Epistolae*, p. 33.

³ William Hegate, D. D. is the writer of three Latin poems, prefixed to Cleomedes and to each volume of the commentary on Aristotle. To the second volume he likewise contributes a prose address to the reader. Dempster, who speaks of him as a native of Glasgow, ascribes to him various orations, together with Greek and Latin poems, and a commentary on Ausonius. He subjoins, "*vivit adhuc cum suavissimo suo Balforeo, et communes Musas colit.*" (*Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum*, p. 363)

by David Buchanan as professor of mathematics ; and all his works afford sufficient indications of his familiarity with the Greek language. He was at length appointed principal of the College of Guienne, which for many years he continued to govern with much prudence, and with much reputation.

To this office he probably succeeded on the death of Vinetus, which took place on the 14th of May 1586.¹ Elie Vinet, or, according to his Latin appellation, Elias Vinetus, had enjoyed the office for thirty years, having succeeded Gelida, a learned Spaniard who died in 1556. He was a particular friend of the illustrious Buchanan, and appears to have been a modest and worthy man. He published some original works, and editions of several ancient classics. His editions of Ausonius and Pomponius Mela were long held in great estimation. Balfour was thus called to occupy a place which had been successively occupied by eminent men, Portuguese, Spanish, and French ; for it is not unworthy of remark that of his three predecessors, only one was a native of France, and that the citizens of Bordeaux seem to have disregarded every recommendation but that of intrinsic merit.

His earliest publication, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was an edition, the first that appeared, of the ancient history of the famous council held at Nice in the year 325.² The author was Gelasius, a native of Cyzicus,

¹ De Lurbe, *Chronique Boivrdeloise*. f. 48. b.

² Gelasii Cyziceni *Commentarius Actorum Nicaeni Concilii* : cum *Corollario Theodori Presbyteri, de Incarnatione Domini*. Nunc primum Græce prodeunt, ex opt. bibliothecis, interprete Rob. Balforeo Scoto, cum ejusdem notis. Lutetiae, 1599, 8vo. The version, as well as the text, of Gelasius was soon afterwards reprinted in Germany: Gelasii Cyziceni *Commentarius Actorum Nicaeni Concilii*, Roberto Balforeo Scoto interprete. *Acta Oecumenicae tertiae Synodi Ephesi habitae*, Theodoro Peltano interprete. *Compendium sanctorum et universalium Synodorum*, ubi, quando, et contra quos

a city of Mysia, who at length became bishop of Caesarea in Palestine.¹ As he lived about the year 476, he cannot claim the authority of a contemporary writer, nor is his work possessed of any considerable merit. It is however recommended by its antiquity, and the editor's labour was thankfully acknowledged.² Gelasius has stated that in his father's house he found an old book, which had belonged to Dalmatius, archbishop of Cyzicus; and that from it he extracted many refutations of the Arian heresies, by the holy fathers and bishops. From this record, and from Eusebius, Rufinus, and other writers, he compiled his history; but the first book is occupied, not with the history of the council of Nice, but with the history of the emperor Constantine, till the period of his victory over Licinius. Balfour had the use of a single manuscript, which had been procured from a Greek monastery in the island of Scio, and had come into the possession of Giles de Noailles, bishop of Aix. The publication was undertaken at the suggestion of this prelate, who did not however live to see its completion. The editor inserted a dedication which he had prepared, and prefixed another, addressed to the bishop's nephew. A second manuscript was collated by the learned printer Federic Morel, who was at the same time professor of Greek in the university of Paris. The text is accompanied with a Latin version, and is followed by a series of

quaelibet earum fuerit congregata, indicans : nunc primum in Latinam linguam conversum per Abrahamum Scultetum Silesium. In bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1604, fol. Gelasius, with Balfour's translation, is reprinted in several editions of the Concilia. See, among the rest, that of Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum, et Epistolae Decretales, ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum*, tom. i. col. 345.

¹ Cave, *Historia Literaria*, vol. i. p. 454.

² "Commodum in lucem Concilium Nicenum prodiiit, quum Johannes Commelinus, ut hic ederetur, curaret: quod ante xxv. annos edere Vulcanius potuisset, qui exemplar manu scriptum ab eo tempore habuit." (*Scaligeri Epistolae*, p. 732.)

annotations. To the work of Gelasius is subjoined a tract on the incarnation, written by Theodorus Presbyter.¹

Balfour's next undertaking was an edition of the *Meteora* of Cleomedes, a valuable relique of ancient science.² The author's history, the time and place of his birth, are altogether unknown.³ Peucer supposes him to have lived about the year 427, but there seems to be no adequate reason for fixing such a date. According to Balfour, his work affords different indications of the author having preceded the age of Ptolemy, whose name he never mentions, and with whose doctrine concerning the motion of the heavenly bodies, he was manifestly unacquainted.⁴ Another note of time has been found in the manner in which he speaks of the Epicureans, who had ceased to be distinguishable as a sect long before the period specified. It has been conjectured, with much more probability, that he flourished in the first, or early in the second century. He was himself a favourer of the Stoic philosophy; and, as Bake has remarked, he does not appear to have been a Christian. Of his work, which relates to astronomy, the subject is not very

¹ Cave, vol. i. p. 587. See likewise Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, part. i. p. 18. Cantab. 1672, 4to.

² *Cleomedis Meteora Graece et Latine. A Roberto Balforeo ex MS. Codice bibliothecae illustrissimi Cardinalis Joyosii multis mendis repurgata, Latine versa, et perpetuo commentario illustrata. Ad clariss. et ornatiss. virum Gulielmum Dafisium, Equitem, principem Praesidem Senatus Burdig. et sacri Consistorii Consiliarium. Burdigalae, 1605, 4to.*

³ *Fabricii Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. iv. p. 38, edit. Harles.

⁴ "Ut si in hoc genere unius Ptolemaei a veteribus scripta excipias, nihil plane in omni vetustate reperiās cum eo comparandum." Of his merits as an original writer, Delambre does not form a high estimate. "Cependant son ouvrage est précieux pour l'histoire de la science dont il a tracé le tableau à l'époque où vivait Posidonius, qu'il paraît affectionner de préférence, et dont il nous a transmis la doctrine astronomique. (*Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 232.)

clearly indicated by the title, *Περὶ κυκλικῆς Θεωρίας Μετεώρων*, which literally signifies, concerning the circular inspection of things lofty, or celestial. According to Balfour's estimate, no ancient writer of the same class, with the sole exception of Ptolemy, is worthy of being compared with Cleomedes. Of the Greek text this was not the first edition; and a Latin version had at a much earlier period been executed by Georgius Valla, but, in the opinion of his successor, with a very inadequate degree of care and accuracy. To an editor residing at Bordeaux no manuscripts of this author were accessible. He procured the use of a printed copy, in the margin of which Vinetus had inserted the various readings of some manuscript, which he had however neglected to describe. On applying to Kidd, he ascertained that a manuscript was to be found in the valuable library of Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was then archbishop of Toulouse; but as the owner would not permit it to be removed beyond the walls of his metropolitan city, Balfour sent his copy of Cleomedes to the learned professor, who returned it after having skilfully noted the variations.¹

James Kidd, as we have already seen, had been the friend of his early youth, and, like himself, had pursued the course of fortune in a foreign country. He was now a

¹ "Ad Jacobum Cadanum, utriusque juris in Academia Tholosana professorem, tam mihi privatim veteri amicitia junctum, quam aliis omnibus publice præstantis eruditionis fama notum, scripsi, ut videret, si quid in divite illa bibliotheca illustrissimi Cardinalis Joyosii auxilii mihi esset, et, si quid esset, impetraret: rem ille communicavit cum D. Marano, collega suo, viro mehercule claro, et, super jurisprudentiæ ac aliarum literarum decora, astrologiæ quoque nostræ amore et cognitione juxta magno. Illi, pro suo in rem literariam publicæ, et in me privatim studio, junctis precibus codicem manuscriptum impetrant optimæ notæ, sed ea lege, ne ex eorum aedibus aut urbe vel pedem unum exportaretur. Quamobrem misi exemplar meum Tholosam ad D. Cadanum, ut illud cum manuscripto eo conferret. Fidelem et eruditam ille in eo nobis operam præbuit, et cuncta diligenter notavit, quæ illic aliter legebantur."

professor of law in the university of Toulouse, where he taught with great reputation, at an era when the law-chairs of that seminary were filled by civilians and canonists of a very high order. One of his most conspicuous pupils was Pierre de Marca, who, after having been president of the parliament of Pau, became archbishop of Paris, and who retained a fervent admiration of his preceptor's talents and erudition.¹ Kidd, in a long poem prefixed to Cleomedes, makes the subsequent allusion to his own share in the work :

Interea votis in te defigimur, a te
Mente, animo, toto pendemus pectore, nostri
Immemores, nec grata, prius quaecunque jacentes
Erexere vices subitas, habitusque prioris
Ponitur ingenii : solitas dum praeterit artes
Affectus studiumque tui, se charta recondat
Edicti, sileat vox omnis, et arida juris
Formula, dilecto juvat inservire sodali.

Balfour prepared a new version, and added a copious and elaborate commentary. Being a mathematician as well as

¹ " Deinde per tres continuos annos in Academia Tolosana, quae tum in jure docendo ceteras Europae facillime anteibat, jus civile et canonicum audivit, usus magnis doctoribus, Gulielmo Marano, Gulielmo [legendum Jacobo] Cadano Scoto, Vincentio Chabotio, et Jano a Costa, qui tum publice jus utrumque in ea civitate profitebantur. Sed in primis secutus est Cadanum, tunc interpretantem Novellam Constitutionem cxxiii. Imperatoris Justiniani ; virum, ut ipse aiebat, in utroque jure consultissimum, sed qui canonicum calleret ad miraculum, bonasque literas legum ac canonum cognitioni addidisset ; eorumque tarditatem deplorabat, qui obscuritatem in Cadano deprehenderent." (Baluzii Epistola de Vita Petri de Marca, Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, p. 18. Paris. 1663, 8vo.) Kidd, as we learn from Dempster, was a native of Dundee, and died at Toulouse in the year 1612. In his youth, he had taught humanity and philosophy at Paris. He is described as " vir prodigiosae memoriae, ac infinitae inexhaustaeque lectionis, utraque lingua supra hoc seculum facundus." (Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 198.)

a classical scholar, he possessed the qualifications requisite for the execution of his difficult task. His work was commended by men eminent for their learning;¹ and his commentary continues to be held in such estimation, that it has been reprinted within a very recent period, in an edition of Cleomedes published by Professor Bake of Leyden.²

His last and greatest work was his commentary on Aristotle. The first volume, containing upwards of a thousand pages, is devoted to an exposition of the *Organon*, that is, the philosopher's remaining treatises relating to the science of logic, together with Porphyry's introduction, by which they are usually accompanied.³ The second volume, which only extends to 634 pages, presents a similar exposition of the *Ethics*.⁴ The substance of this commen-

¹ "Quo loco," says Barthius, "vide commentaria eruditissimi Balforei, qui authorem praestantissimum vitae suae restituit." (*Adversaria*, tom. i. c. 673.) The following passage occurs in an epistle from Casaubon to Scaliger: "Balforeus, de quo nuper scripsi, Commentarium in Cleomedem edidit, nisi fallor, bonae frugis plenum." (*Casauboni Epistolae*, curante Theodoro Janson. ab Almeloveen, p. 261. Roterod. 1709, fol.) See likewise p. 254, and Scaligeri *Epistolae*, p. 687. A letter from Balfour, dated on the 18th of May 1595, occurs among the *Epistres Françaises des Personnages illustres et doctes*, à Mons^r. Joseph Juste de la Scala, mises en lumière par Jaques de Reves, p. 13. Harderwyck, 1624, 8vo.

² Cleomedis *Circularis Doctrinae de Sublimibus libri duo*. Recensuit, interpretatione Latina instruxit, commentarium Roberti Balforei suasque animadversiones addidit Janus Bake. Lugd. Bat. 1820, 8vo.

³ *Commentarius R. Balforei in Organum Logicum Aristotelis*. Ad illustrissimum Cardinalem de Sourdis. Burdigalae, 1616, 4to.

⁴ R. Balforei Scoti *Commentariorum in lib. Arist. de Philosophia tomus secundus*, quo post *Organum Logicum*, quaecumque in libris *Ethicorum* occurrunt difficultia, dilucide explicantur. Burdigalae, 1620, 4to. Both these volumes, as well as the edition of Cleomedes, were printed by Simon Millanges; who, as De Lurbe informs us, under the date of 1572, "après avoir longuement enseigné les lettres au College

tary had been originally embodied in the prelections which he was accustomed to deliver to the students of his college ; for when he was promoted to the office of principal, it does not appear that he relinquished all share in the labour of academical instruction. His commentary is not professedly grammatical and critical, but exegetical and philosophical. Philological discussion is not entirely excluded.¹ His pages are variegated by an occasional mixture of mathematics and the civil law ; and they are not unfrequently enlivened by quotations from comic as well as serious poets. Martial, who appears to have been a chief favourite, supplies him with some facetious illustrations. With the ancient and modern commenators on Aristotle he evinces a most familiar acquaintance ; and with this great extent and variety of learning he unites so much vigour of intellect, that his name appears with no inconsiderable lustre in the literary annals of his country.

The second volume of his commentary was published in the year 1620, and it is evident that the author must then have reached an advanced period of life. How long he survived, I am unable to ascertain. Dempster, who died in 1625, and whose work was not published till after his own death, mentions him as still living. Balfour left behind him the character of a learned and worthy man. His manners are represented as very pleasing ; and he is particularly commended for his kindness to his countrymen, many of whom at that period wandered on the continent

de Guyene, dresse à Bourdeaux vue belle imprimerie." (*Chronique Boivrdeloise*, f. 46. b.) Buhle, who seems to have been very slightly acquainted with Balfour's commentary on Aristotle, speaks of two different editions, and assigns the year 1620 as the date of the second. (*Aristotelis Opera*, recensuit J. T. Buhle, vol. i. p. 238.)

¹ "Praeclarus ille Aristotelis interpres---Scotus est natione, plan-
amque viam insistit, et Aristotelem ex seipso explicat, non pauca
elegantioris literaturae aspergens." (*Morhofii Polyhistor*, tom. ii.
p. 104.)

in quest of learning, or learned employment. The only fault imputed to him by one biographer, is his zealous adherence to the Romish faith.¹ This species of zeal he has testified by introducing into his commentary on the Categories of Aristotle, a defence of the astounding doctrine of transubstantiation.² As a proof of the estimation in which he was held, it may be stated that François de Foix de Candale, bishop of Aire, who died in the year 1594, bequeathed to him the mathematical part of his library.³ This prelate, the descendant of a noble family, was himself distinguished as a man of science; and in 1591 he had founded a professorship of mathematics in the College of Guienne.⁴ If any inference could safely be drawn from

¹ "Verum hoc unum in eo defendendum, quod religionis pontificiae strenuus fautor, et diligens sectator, in eorum ineptias, ritus, caeremonias superstitiosas, idololatrias, et horrendas blasphemias juratus, terrena melius comprehendere, quam spiritualia apprehendere valeret. Alioquin vir perhumanus, in contrerraneos suos egenos et literatos liberalis et munificus." (D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scotis, p. 129.)

² Balforei Commentarius in Organum Logicum, p. 180.

³ "Robertus Balforeus, sui seculi phoenix, Graece et Latine doctissimus, philosophus et mathematicus priscis conferendus; ad haec incredibili morum suavitate, caritate in populares suos et cives rarissima, ac veluti totius gentis sacra anchora; triginta jam annis Lyceum Burdegalense summa prudentia est moderatus, cujus claritudini non parum splendoris accessit ex judicio DN. Candalii, qui eum testamento honoravit, libris suis omnibus mathematicis ei legatis.---Vivit adhuc Burdegalae, amicorum subsidium, et gentis ornamentum." (Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 119.)

⁴ D. Sammarthani Gallia Christiana, tom. i. c. 1167. De Lurbe, Chronique Bovrdealoise, f. 50. b. He made provision for an annual salary of 500 livres. In various passages of his works, Balfour mentions him with high commendation. "Generis et eruditionis fama longe clarissimus princeps, et mei cum viveret amantissimus, Franciscus Flussas Candalla." (Comment. in Cleomedem, p. 136.) "Quo nemo in mathematicis aut mechanicis post Archimedes doctior." (P. 243.) See likewise his Comment. in Organum Logicum, p. 611.

the number or strength of poetical panegyrics accompanying an author's works, we might suppose Balfour to have been held in very high esteem by the learned men of that city where he spent the best part of his life.¹ From these encomiums, I shall only select the following verses of a poem, written by his friend and countryman Dr. Hegate, and prefixed to the commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*.

Nec melior potuit virtuti obtingere vindex ;
Nam constans morum tenor, inculpatæque vita
Esse negant quenquam qui te sit sanctior alter.
Sublime ingenium, claris natalibus ortum,
Contemptorque animus sortis, doctrinaque rerum,
Esse negant quenquam qui te sit doctior alter,
Seu te Cecropidum, seu te Romana Camoena,
Seu juvet ætherei leges evolvere mundi,
Seu magis arcanos sophiæ recludere sensus.

¹ Balfour is highly commended by John Dunbar, *Epigrammaton centuriæ sex, decades totidem*, p. 52. Lond. 1616, 8vo.

WILLIAM BELLENDEN.

THE name of William Bellenden is familiarly known to those who have explored the recesses of modern literature, but with respect to the history of the individual himself very few particulars have hitherto been discovered. He appears to have been the son of John Bellenden of Lasswade, and was probably born between 1550 and 1560.¹ William, a son of this individual, is ascertained to have been an advocate at Paris in the year 1586: Dempster describes the celebrated Bellenden as a professor in the university, and an advocate in the parliament of Paris. We must apparently conclude that he relinquished the functions of a professor, and betook himself to the practice of the bar. The same writer has stated that both Queen Mary and King James employed him in some diplomatic services, and that the latter nominated him master of requests.² That he bore such a

¹ Mr Riddell mentions an "action in the court of session, 22d of April 1586, at the instance of 'Issabel Ballenden, dochter lauchful to umquiblie John Ballenden of Leswaid, lauchfullie constitute be Mais-ter William Ballenden, advocat in the parliament at Pareis, hir broyer,' against William Sinclair of Roslin, charging the latter to pay to her an annual rent due out of the lands of Fauside. This celebrated individual therefore was of the Bellendens of Lasswade near Edinburgh, and the annual rent was probably a provision settled upon his sister. Whether these Bellendens were related to the Auchinoul stock, has not been ascertained." (Peerage Law, p. 168.)

² "Guilielmus Bellendenus, sive Ballantinus, honestissimo bon-

title, is sufficiently ascertained from his own publications, in all of which he is described as "*Magister Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnae Britanniae*;" but there are obvious reasons for suspecting that his office, if not unconnected with emolument, was altogether unconnected with official duty; for he appears to have spent the greater part of his life in France. *Magister Libellorum* was an officer in the court of the Roman emperors,¹ and it was his duty to receive and examine petitions addressed to the prince. A similar office was established in several modern kingdoms; and *Maître des Requêtes* being an honourable title in France, Bellenden might solicit and obtain such a title from a sovereign who could not so easily bestow an ample salary. The terms employed by Dempster in describing his appointment, seem rather to indicate honour than emolument. He belonged to the Scotch establishment. In England, a person who bore this title was a judge of a particular court. Of the court of requests, which professed to distribute justice gratuitously, the lord privy seal was chief judge, and was assisted by two judges called masters of requests, the one for the common, and the other for the civil law.² In a list of the officers of state in Scotland,

arum artium studio Parisiis inclaruit professor in academia, patronus causarum in supremo Galliarum senatu; tum demum oratoris munere honestatus principibus suis, Reginae Mariae, filioque Jacobo, fidelem operam navavit, a quo posteriore magistri libellorum supplicum elogio honorifico est donatus. Ejus sunt: Princeps Ciceronis, lib. i. Orator Ciceronis, lib. i. Senator Ciceronis, lib. i. In omnia Ciceronis Opera Observationes, lib. i. Vivit adhuc Lutetiae, et plura molitur." (Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 119.)

¹ Brissonius de Verborum quae ad Jus Civile pertinent Significatione, tom. ii. p. 769. edit. Heineccii. See likewise Gutherii de Officiis Domus Augustae publicae et privatae, libri tres, p. 428. Paris. 1628, 4to.

² See Sir Thomas Smith's Common-wealth of England, p. 245, edit. Lond. 1633, 12mo. "Therein, for the most part," says Sir

"William Ballenden, *magist. supplic. libellor.*" occurs under the date of 1608. The name of Mark Ker is previously mentioned; and, under the date of 1624, we find that of Sir James Galloway, afterwards Lord Dunkeld.¹ But the date of Bellenden's appointment seems to have been borrowed from that of his earliest publication. He continued to describe himself as master of requests in the year 1625.

Respecting the tenure of his appointment, we derive some information from a French letter which he addressed to the king. In this letter, which unfortunately is without a date, he mentions his having stated to the duke of Lennox that he had frequently written to his majesty, concerning the impropriety of remaining in a foreign country after having been appointed to such an office. From the tenor of his application it is evident that his office was attended with little or no emolument, and that the object at which he aimed was a regular establishment at court.² The re-

Thomas Ridley, "are handled poore miserable persons causes, as widows and orphans, and other distressed people, whose cases wholly relie on pietie and conscience." (*View of the Civile and Ecclesiasticall Law*, p. 276, 2d edit. Oxford, 1634, 4to.) The court of requests was instituted about the ninth of Henry VII., and was dissolved by statute, 16 Car. I. c. 10. Dr Cowell has stated that before the institution of this court, "the masters of requests had no warrant of ordinary jurisdiction, but travailed betweene the prince and petitioners, by direction from the mouth of the king." (*Interpreter, or Booke containing the Signification of Words*, v. *Requests*.)

¹ Scot's *Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, p. 189. Edinb. 1754, 12mo.

² "Je n'ay peu de regret que ceste miene doléance n'a peu iusques à issy recepuoir aucun remede, ayde, ni consolation. Je l'attends de vostre Maiesté à ceste foy; et la supplie tres humblement de ne permestre que chose, non aduenue au service d'aucun prince, soit remarquée en celuy d'un grand roy, ni subject donne aux malueillans de dire, que le dernier employé par vostre Maiesté pour son royaume d'Escosse ayt rencontré telle infortune, qu'il n'a

ligion which he professed might be one material impediment. As he practised at the bar, his early education must have been French; and as he was a regent or professor in one of the colleges, he may be supposed to have adhered to the popish religion. Since the massacre of St Bartholomew, which had proved fatal to Ramus and other men of learning, there probably had been no protestant professor in any college of Paris. His nephew, William Bellenden, was a popish priest.

Bellenden's earliest publication bears the subsequent title: "*Ciceronis Princeps, Rationes et Consilia bene gerendi firmandique Imperii: ex iis repetita quae ex Ciceronianis defluxere fontibus in libros xvi. de Statu Rerum Romanarum, qui nondum lucem acceperunt.*" Paris. 1608, 8vo. This was followed by¹ "*Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus: illustratus publici observatione juris, gravissimi usus disciplina, administrandi temperata ratione; notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et actis rerum in Senatu: quae a Ciceroniana nondum edita profluxere memoria annorum dccx. congesta in libros xvi. de Statu Rerum Romanarum: unde jam manavit Ciceronis Princeps, dignus habitus summorum lectione principum.* Editio prima. Ad inclytum serenissimumque Principem, Henricum Principem Scotiae et Walliae." Paris. 1612, 8vo. This mode of noting a first edition is somewhat pleasant;² nor must we overlook the important intelligence that his former publication had been thought worthy of the attention of mighty princes. Both these works partake of the nature of a cento. In the first of them, the author has

peu recevoir commandement et moyen pour se retirer par deuers elle." (Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 335.)

¹ This work of Bellenden did not escape the notice of the learned and indefatigable Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, p. 490.

² Another learned philologer had recently set him the example: "*Julii Caesaris Bulengeri Juliodunensis de Theatro Ludisque Scenicis libri duo.* Editio prima." Tricassibus, 1603, 8vo.

collected from the writings of Cicero the various precepts and remarks which relate to the origin and principles of regal government, and with no small labour has combined the whole in a regular and systematic form. Adopting a similar plan in the other work, he has compiled a treatise on the dignity and authority of the consuls, and on the constitution of the Roman senate. Although this may seem an effort of mere diligence, it required both learning and ability to present such materials in such a shape.

His next publication is entitled "*De Statu prisci Orbis in Religione, Re Politica, et Literis, liber unus. Ad serenissimum Principem, Carolum Principem Scotiae et Walliae.*" Paris. 1615, 8vo. This is a work of more originality, and affords a very favourable specimen of the author's talents and erudition.¹ It exhibits, in a very condensed form, a sketch of the history of philosophy and civil polity, tracing its progress among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. Of this work very few copies appear to have been separately published; for the author speedily combined all the three tracts in a volume which bears the following title: "*De Statu libri tres. I. De Statu prisci Orbis in Religione, Re Politica, et Literis. II. Ciceronis Princeps, sive de Statu Principis et Imperii. III. Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus, sive de Statu Reip. et Urbis imperantis Orbi. Primus, nunc primum editus: caeteri, cum tractatu de Processu et Scriptoribus Rei Politicae, ab autore aucti et illustrati.*" Paris. 1615, 8vo. Notwithstanding this notice on the title-page, I suspect that the second and third treatises were not actually reprinted.

¹ Dr Parr, in his famous preface to Bellenden, p. v. mentions this work with much commendation. "*Stylus est Bellendeni per librum huncce, dilucidus in primis, neque exquisitus nimis. Sententiae hic illie occurrunt reconditae, quibus adhibita, tanquam obrussa, est ratio. Operis porro totius ita sunt aptae inter se colligataeque partes, nihil ut sit asperum, vel hiulcum, vel dissolutum, nihil in alienum irruerit locum, nihil non positum sit suo.*"

Each treatise has a distinct series of pages, and it was therefore easy to combine the whole. In its separate form and in this volume, *Ciceronis Consul* exhibits the very same list of typographical errors. Dr Parr remarks, that in all the copies which he had seen, the date seems to have been changed from M.DC.XV. to M.DC.XVI. by the printer adding the letter *i* after the impression had been finished : but in a copy belonging to the Advocates Library, the additional letter is apparently printed, not with a type, but with a pen ; and in a copy belonging to the writer of this notice, the original date remains unaltered. Another minute variation may likewise be mentioned ; in the latter copy, the plate in the second treatise is not impressed on the reverse of a printed page of the dedication.

In a paper written by Dr Bennet, the late bishop of Cloyne, we find the subsequent statement respecting the books *De Statu*. "The great work being now completed, Bellenden looked forward with a pretty well grounded expectation for that applause which his labour and his ingenuity deserved. But his views were disappointed, by one of those events which no art of man could foresee or remedy. The vessel in which the whole impression was embarked was overtaken by a storm before she could reach the English coast, and foundered with all her cargo. A very few copies only, which the learned author either kept for his own use, or had sent as presents by private hands, seem to have been preserved from the destruction which awaited the others."¹ I am not aware of any early authority for such a statement ; and the learned prelate, deceived by an imperfect recollection, seems to have misapplied Dr Warton's account of Bellenden's larger work, which is likewise an account that requires confirmation. There is a manifest fallacy in supposing that almost all the impression of such a book must have been destined for

¹ See Dr Johnstone's *Memoirs of Parr*, p. 182.

England. After a long interval, the fame of the author was greatly extended by Dr Parr's publication of "*Guilielmi Bellendeni, Magistri Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnae Britanniae, &c. de Statu libri tres. Editio secunda longe emendatio.*" Lond. 1787, 8vo. The preface, extending to seventy-six pages, is written in a style of elegant and powerful Latinity, but is too much replenished with modern politics, and, in the opinion of some readers, is not free from a considerable mixture of pedantry. It is however such a composition as no other Englishman of that period could perhaps have produced.

The last work which Bellenden himself published is of very small extent, consisting merely of two short poems: "*Caroli Primi et Henricae Mariae, Regis et Reginae Magnae Britanniae, &c. Epithalamium; et in ipsas augustissimas Nuptias, celeberrimamque Legationem earum causa obitam, &c. panegyricum Carmen, et Elogia.*" Paris. 1625, 4to. This little work has likewise been republished by Dr Parr.

But the greatest labour of his life was a posthumous production, which made its appearance under the title of "*Guilielmi Bellendeni Scoti, Magistri Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnae Britanniae, de tribus Luminibus Romanorum libri sex-decim.*" Paris. 1633, fol. With respect to the date of this publication, one bibliographer frequently contradicts another, and some minute particulars require explanation.¹ In the Advocates Library, that great repository of Scottish literature, there are two copies of the book, which exhibit considerable variations. In both of them we find the same extract of the royal privilege, dated on the third of September 1631. The one bears, "*Achevé d'imprimer pour la premiere fois, le vingtseptiesme jour d'Aoust 1633.*" Of this copy the dedication, "*Henrico Borbonio, Sacro-sancti Imp. Rom. Principi, illustriss. Me-*

¹ This work is mentioned in very inaccurate terms by Labbe, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, p. 118; whose statement has evidently been copied by König in his *Bibliotheca Vetus et Nova*, p. 97.

tens. Praesuli," is subscribed by the author's nephew, "Guilielmus Bellendenus, Presbyter Scotus." It consists of nearly four pages, but is not followed by a preface. The other copy has a similar title-page, but with the date of 1634; and the note subjoined to the privilege bears, "Achevé d'imprimer pour la premiere fois, le vingtroisiesme jour de Mars 1634." It contains a different and a shorter dedication, "Potentissimo et invictissimo Principi, Carolo Magnae Britanniae Regi, &c." subscribed by the publisher, Toussaint du Bray. This dedication is followed by a brief preface, "Lectori benevolo." In other respects the two copies present a complete resemblance; and it appears sufficiently evident that one part of the impression must have been intended for the French, and another for the British market.

Of this elaborate work, which consists of no fewer than 824 pages, printed on a small type, the subject is very faintly indicated by the title. It is the author's object to combine, in an historical form, all the statements and reflections of Cicero which relate to the civil and religious affairs of Rome; and his plan is executed in such a manner as to display the essence of the Roman history, from the foundation of the city to the extinction of the republic.¹ In the text he adheres to his former method of expressing himself in no other words than those of Cicero; but he has interspersed occasional observations, drawn from various

¹ Clement has described this work in terms of too extensive import: "Guillaume Bellenden, grand admirateur de Cicéron, s'est donné la torture pour écrire l'Histoire des *Empereurs* et des *Consuls* Romains, avec les propres termes de cet ancien orateur, dont il a cité constamment les ouvrages à la marge: et comme il n'osoit pas s'étendre à son gré, en écrivant d'une manière si bornée, il a ajouté des notes à la fin de chaque livre, dans lesquelles il explique plus amplement ses idées." (*Bibliothèque Curieuse historique et critique, ou Catalogue raisonné de Livres difficiles à trouver*, tom. iii. p. 72.)

sources of information. The latter part of the work, relating to the times of his great prototype, is very ample and satisfactory ; and here it is evident that the materials must be chiefly derived from the epistles. The reader cannot fail to perceive that this is precisely such a digest as would be necessary for an historian of the life and times of Cicero ; it is such a digest as Dr Middleton professes to have formed by his own unaided industry. "My first business therefore," as he is pleased to state, "after I had undertaken this task, was, to read over Cicero's works, with no other view than to extract from them all the passages that seemed to have any relation to my design ; where the tediousness of collecting an infinite number of testimonies scattered through many different volumes ; of sorting them into their classes, and ranging them in proper order ; the necessity of overlooking many in the first search, and the trouble of retrieving them in a second or third ; and the final omission of several through forgetfulness or inadvertency ; have helped to abate that wonder which had often occurred to me, why no man had ever attempted the same work before me, or at least in this enlarged and comprehensive form, in which it is now offered to the public."¹ If previously acquainted with the work of Bellenden, he must have been fully aware that this labour of collecting and digesting was altogether superfluous ; nor is it probable that such a book was unknown to Dr Middleton, a man of extensive learning, and the keeper of a great public library, that of the university of Cambridge. He has therefore been repeatedly accused of plagiarism ; and it must be confessed that the accusation does not appear to be destitute of foundation. "It may be worth observing," says Dr Warton, "that he is much indebted, without acknowledging it, to a curious book little known, entitled *G. Bellendeni Scoti de tribus Luminibus*

¹ Middleton's Hist. of the Life of M. T. Cicero, vol. i. p. xx.

Romanorum, &c. It comprehends a history of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of Augustus, drawn up in the very words of Cicero, without any alteration of any expression. In this book Middleton found every part of Cicero's own history, in his own words, and his works arranged in chronological order, without further trouble. The impression of this work being shipped for England, was lost in the vessel, which was cast away, and only a few copies remained that had been left in France."¹ The same opinion respecting the biographer's plagiarism is adopted, and strongly expressed by Dr Parr.²

M. Morabin, the French biographer of Cicero, who soon followed Dr Middleton, has, in the dedication of his work, acknowledged his acquaintance with Bellenden, but has not mentioned him in the most appropriate terms. "*Si Bellenden, dans son traité De tribus Luminibus Romanorum, a évité cet écueil, en rassemblant tout ce qu'il y a d'historique dans Cicéron, et en n'employant que les expressions de cet orateur, il a donné dans un autre ; et sa compilation, de quelque utilité qu'elle puisse être à un auteur qui embrasseroit une histoire générale, ne sauroit guère servir dans la composition d'une histoire particulière, qu'à fournir la matière d'un gros livre qui ne seroit lu.*"³ But certainly an ample collection of materials was in either case desirable ; and for a person who undertook to write the history of Cicero in two volumes quarto, it might have

¹ Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, vol. ii. p. 324.

² " *Permolesse autem fero,*" says Dr Parr, "*potuisse illum, qui ingenii tam acris elegantisque esset, laudibus Bellendenum meritis ac debitis privare. Fidentissime enim confirmamus, Middletonum non modo ex Bellendeni opere suppellectilem sibi sublegisse satis lautam atque amplam, sed libri ipsius prope formam, qua res ferret, adumbrasse.*" (Praef. p. iii.)

³ Morabin, *Histoire de Cicéron, avec des Remarques historiques et critiques*. Paris, 1745, 2 tom. 4to.

been thought necessary to inspect all the materials which Cicero had himself furnished.

Bellenden has bestowed upon his book a title which to many readers must require explanation. It appears to have been his original intention to compose, on a similar plan, three different works illustrative of the civil and literary history of Rome. The first of his three luminaries is Cicero, who has supplied him with the materials of civil history. According to Lenglet du Fresnoy, the other two whom he had in his contemplation were Seneca and the elder Pliny;¹ and we may conclude that by means of the same laborious arrangement and digest of their respective writings, he intended to exhibit a comprehensive view of the moral and physical science of the Romans.

¹ "L'auteur avoit dessein de faire la même chose sur Pline l'ancien, et sur Senèque ; mais il n'y a eu d' imprimé que ce qui regarde Cicéron, et l'ouvrage même n'est pas commun." (Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, tom. xi. p. 72, edit. 1772.)

JAMES CRICHTON.

THIS renowned youth, commonly known by the appellation of the Admirable Crichton, was born on the 19th of August 1560.¹ His father was Robert Crichton, who, in conjunction with John Spence, executed the office of lord advocate; his mother was Elizabeth, the only daughter of Sir James Stewart of Beath, by Margaret, the eldest daughter of Lord Lindsay of Byres. It appears highly probable, if not certain, that by the father's side he derived his lineage from Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar, ancestor of the earl of Dumfries; and his maternal grandfather, ancestor of the earl of Moray, was the son of Lord Avandale, who was descended from Murdac duke of Albany, and through him from Robert the Second. It is indeed to be recollected that the birth of the first Lord Avandale was illegitimate; but it is likewise to be recollected that

¹ An Italian broadside, printed at Venice in 1580, states that he had completed the twentieth year of his age on the 19th of August. This curious document, which was lately discovered, and which affords some confirmation of the account which Manutius and Imperiali have given of Crichton's character and attainments, may be found in the appendix to the second edition of Mr Tytler's *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, p. 289. Edinb. 1823, 12mo. In the preface to his popular romance, Mr Ainsworth has reprinted a "*Relazione delle Qualita di Iacomo di Crettone fatta da Aldo Manutio all' illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo S. Jacomo Boncompagno, Duca di Sora*,"

he obtained letters of legitimation under the great seal.¹ His grand-uncle, Lord Methven, was the third husband of Margaret Tudor, the relict of James the Fourth. It is therefore sufficiently obvious that he was entitled to speak of his high descent; but his extraordinary endowments of mind conferred upon him much higher distinction than he could derive from any accidental circumstances of birth. The place of his birth is somewhat doubtful. According to one tradition, he was born in the castle of Cluny, situate on a small lake bearing the same name; but as the father did not acquire his estate in Perthshire till two years after the birth of James, his eldest son, this may be considered as entitled to less attention than another tradition, which represents him as having been born at Ellilock in Dumfriesshire, the more ancient seat of the family. The estate of Cluny, which belonged to the bishopric of Dunkeld, was conveyed to the king's advocate by Robert Crichton, the last popish bishop of that wealthy see.

In the year 1570, when he had only attained the age of ten, he was sent to the university of St Andrews, where he was entered at St Salvator's College. According to Aldus Manutius, his father placed him under the tuition

e Gov. Gen. di S. C. In Vinegia, M.D.LXXXI. appresso Aldo," 8vo. See Crichton, by W. Harrison Ainsworth, Esq. Lond. 1837, 3 vols. 12mo. This account, written by Manutius, is nearly the same as that which occurs in the broadside already mentioned. Instead of being printed in 1581, it was not printed till 1830, but the counterfeit of an Aldine edition seems to have been very successful. "Questa edizione, quantunque sembri del 1581, fu perdesegnata in Milano del 1830, essendosi procurato, con ottima riuscita, d'imitare le antiche Aldine edizioni, ed essendosene tirati pochissimi esemplari. L'opuscolo poi sul Crettone, che era inedito; fu copiato da un codice della Libreria Ambrosiana." (Inscrizioni Veneziane, raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna, tom. iii. p. 480.) Cigogna reprinted it at Venice during the following year, "conservando possibilmente la forma antica."

¹ Wood's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 158.

of Buchanan, Hepburn, Robertson, and Rutherford, who are all mentioned as very eminent persons. John Rutherford, whose name is sufficiently known, was provost of the college to which Crichton belonged. Buchanan, who was principal of St Leonard's College, resigned his office about the time when he became a student; but, according to the statement of his Italian friend, he was partly educated along with the young king of Scotland; and Buchanan was appointed to the office of preceptor to the king when he quitted St Andrews, in the year 1570. On the 20th of March 1573, or, according to our present mode of computation, 1574, Crichton took the degree of A.B. He proceeded A.M. in the year 1575, and thus completed the regular course of study at the premature age of fifteen. In the university of St Andrews, the candidates for the higher degree were then distributed into circles, according to the comparative proficiency displayed in the course of their previous examinations. Each circle was likewise formed on the same principle. Of the thirty-six masters who took their degrees on this occasion, there were three circles; and the third name in the first circle is that of James Crichton. At the head of the list appears David Monypenny. It is highly probable that Crichton was the youngest of all those graduates; and as his proficiency was only exceeded by two out of thirty-five, it is evident that he had already begun to distinguish himself by his extraordinary aptitude in the acquisition of knowledge.

As the king was six years younger than Crichton, they could not well participate in the same studies, although they could receive instructions from the same tutors. Crichton must have continued to devote himself with intense ardour to the pursuits of science as well as literature; for to a knowledge of many languages he added a familiar acquaintance with the philosophy and even the theology of the age. The power of genius is shewn in

the use of the materials which are placed within its reach ; but there is no royal road to learning, which, if acquired to any extent, must be acquired by much labour and perseverance, although their particular degree must vary according to the quickness of apprehension and tenacity of memory belonging to various individuals.

Crichton may for some time have enjoyed the benefit of such able instruction ; for he appears to have been still residing in Scotland towards the close of the year 1577. His subsequent movements are represented as being partly influenced by some domestic disagreements. As the father embraced the reformed doctrines, while the son adhered to the ancient superstition, disputes and reproaches could scarcely fail to intervene at a crisis of such high and general excitement. The young scholar repaired to France, where he is said to have distinguished himself equally by his skill in literature and in arms. Of a marvellous disputation which he held in the university of Paris, there is an account which passes very currently, although it is only stamped with the authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart. According to this account, he affixed a program in the most public places of the city, inviting all men of learning to meet him, after an interval of six weeks, at the College of Navarre, where he should "be ready to answer to what should be propounded to him concerning any science, liberal art, discipline, or faculty, practical or theoretick, not excluding the theological nor jurisprudential habits, though grounded but upon the testimonies of God and man, and that in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Slavonian, in either verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant ;"¹ in the mean time, as we are

¹ Urquhart's *Discovery of a most exquisite Jewel*, p. 94. Lond. 1652, 8vo. This writer is pleased to inform us, that about a fortnight before the appointed day of meeting, some person, less acquainted with Crichton himself than with his reputation, subjoined the

duly instructed, "the admirable Scot (for so from thenceforth he was called) minding more his hawking, hunting, tilting, vaulting, riding of well-managed horses, tossing of the pike, handling of the musket, flourishing of colours, dancing, fencing, swimming, jumping, throwing of the bar, playing at the tennis, baloon, or long-catch, and sometimes at the house-games of dice, cards, playing at the chess, billiards, trou-madam, and other such like chamber-sports, singing, playing on the lute, and other musical instruments." But when the appointed hour arrived, he acquitted himself with stupendous learning and ability, having for the space of nine hours maintained his ground against the most eminent antagonists in all the faculties. The rector of the university concluded the ceremony by presenting him with a diamond ring and a purse full of gold. It would be a mere waste of criticism, to enter into a minute examination of the narrative to which we have now referred. The details are sufficiently circumstantial, but they have much of the aspect of a downright romance; and such details from the knight of Cromarty would have required the strong confirmation of collateral evidence. It might perhaps be admitted with some degree of safety, that Crichton was engaged in a public disputation at Paris, and that he acquitted himself with consummate ability; but as to his fluency in twelve languages, and his maintaining so long and powerful a contest, not merely with grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers, but even with theolo-

following sarcastic inscription to his program on the gate of the Sorbonne: "If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or bawdy-house, is the readiest way to finde him." The hint for this part of the story is to all appearance borrowed from a work of mere fancy, in which Boccalini relates that a similar *mordace facetia* was practised upon Crichton, not in Paris, but at Parnassus: "E chi lo vuol vedere, vada all' hosteria del Falcone, che li farà mostrato." (Ragguagli di Parnaso, tom. i. p. 181.)

gians, canonists, and civilians, all these particulars must be received with extreme hesitation ; and perhaps it may be considered as much more probable that such a disputation never took place at Paris, but was merely fabricated from another, which took place at Venice.

The intellectual endowments of Crichton seem to have been equalled by his personal accomplishments. . He is highly celebrated for his martial prowess, and as a complete master in the use of the sword and spear. Some degree of military experience he must have acquired during his two years service in the civil wars of France : but this term of service was apparently sufficient to gratify his youthful inclination for the life of a soldier ; and he next directed his steps towards Italy, where he must have arrived in the year 1580. According to Dr Mackenzie, he proceeded to Rome, and there gave another demonstration of his talents for public disputation ;¹ but this account is evidently destitute of all foundation, and the only authority alleged by its author is that of Boccalini, whose meaning is either completely misrepresented or completely misunderstood.² Dempster has stated that he went to Genoa, attracted by the offer of a considerable salary ; but in what capacity he appeared there, we are left to conjecture.³ Whatever might be his first place of residence in Italy, it is at least ascertained that he arrived at Venice be-

¹ Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. iii. p. 200. From the very loose and erroneous account of Crichton which occurs in this work, was fabricated a separate tract published under the title of "The Life of James Crichton of Clunie, commonly called the Admirable Crichton." Aberdeen, 1760, 8vo. It was printed, and probably edited, by Francis Douglas, who was a person of some taste for literature. Dr Mackenzie's account, thus disguised, was inserted in an appendix to Mr Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 315, edit. Lond. 1790, 3 vols. 4to.

² Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, tom. i. p. 180.

³ Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 188.

fore the close of the year 1580. He now addressed a Latin poem to the younger Aldus Manutius, a name highly celebrated in the annals of typography; and this laid the foundation of a literary friendship, which was not without considerable influence in perpetuating his fame.¹ He likewise formed an intimate acquaintance with other men of letters, particularly with Sperone Speroni, Lorenzo Massa, and Giovanni Donati. An ode addressed to Massa, and another to Donati, are preserved among his literary reliques. But the friendship of Manutius was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of zeal: he highly extolled Crichton when living, and deeply bewailed him when dead. To the notices which he has introduced into his edition of Cicero, we are in a great measure indebted for our knowledge of the young scholar's proceedings in the territory of Venice. His edition of the *Paradoxa* he inscribed "*Nobilissimo juveni Jacobo Critonio Scoto*;" and the dedication, dated on the first of June 1581, contains a recital

¹ *Jacobi Critonii in Appulsu ad celeberrimam Urbem Venetam Carmen ad Aldum Manutium*. Venetiis, 1680, 4to. (Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, tom. ii. p. 125.) Gabriel Naudé speaks of Crichton's orations being printed: "*Tel negligera, par exemple, les Oraisons de Jacques Criton, parce qu'elles ne se trouvent qu'imprimées séparément, qui aura dans sa bibliothèque celles de Raymond, Gallutius, Nigronius, Bencius, Perpinian, et de beaucoup d'autres auteurs, non pas qu'elles soient meilleures ou plus disertes et esloquentes que celles de ce docte Escossois, mais parce qu'elles se trouvent reserrées et continues dans de certains volumes.*" (*Advis pour dresser une Bibliothèque*, p. 76, edit. Paris, 1644, 8vo.) Naudé apparently confounds him with George Crichton, who was royal professor of Greek in the university of Paris, and the author of various orations published in a detached form. The poems of the two Crichtons are mentioned in the following terms by Olaus Borrichius: "*Jacobo Crittonio Scoto non ignotum fuisse Pegaseium melos docent heroica, quibus suum in urbem Venetam appulsum designat. Plus tamen vividi caloris cultusque in epicis Georgii Critonii.*" (*Dissertationes Academicæ de Poetis*, p. 151.)

of some of those literary exploits which astonished the Italians.¹

An oration which Crichton pronounced before the Doge and the nobility of Venice excited the admiration of his audience, by the eloquence of the composition, as well as by the gracefulness of the elocution, insomuch that the young orator was regarded as a person of the most extraordinary endowments. He afterwards engaged in various disputations on subjects of divinity, philosophy, and the mathematical sciences ; and such was the reputation which he now acquired, that, during the remainder of his short career, he seems to have been viewed as one of the wonders of Italy. It has been thought a circumstance worthy of being recorded in the life of Mazzoni, celebrated among his countrymen for his powers of literary debate, that he thrice encountered Crichton at Venice, and overwhelmed him by the astonishing copiousness and subtilty of his arguments. If it was reckoned an honour for a man of high reputation to sustain a contest with so youthful an antagonist, we cannot fail to perceive the singular estimation in which that antagonist must have been held.

These intellectual exertions were succeeded by an infirm state of health, which continued for upwards of four months ; and before he had completely recovered, he made an excursion to Padua, the seat of a flourishing university. The professors in all the different faculties were invited to meet him in the house of a person of rank ; and there, in the midst of a numerous assembly, he exhibited new and striking proofs of the versatility of his genius. He com-

¹ The dedication of Aldus Manutius, together with the four Latin poems of Crichton, are reprinted in Graevius's edition of Cicero de Officiis, &c. Amst. 1688, 8vo. They may likewise be found in the Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. p. 452, and in the appendix to Mr Tytler's Life of the Admirable Crichton, p. 292. Only two of the poems, the hexameters on Venice and the ode to Manutius, occur in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 268.

menced his performances with the recitation of an extemporaneous poem in celebration of Padua ; a subject which was only then proposed to him, and which he treated in a manner that is described as very elegant. With much acuteness and learning, he afterwards discussed various topics of science with the doctors who were there assembled ; and it is particularly mentioned that he exposed many of the errors of Aristotle and his commentators. Having thus displayed his knowledge for the space of six hours, the final theme proposed to him was the praise of ignorance ; and on this subject he pronounced an oration, which still further excited the admiration of his learned auditors. A similar exhibition was announced to be held in the bishop's palace, but, for some reason which is not plainly stated, it did not take place. The popular applause which attended such demonstrations of intellectual superiority, had too natural a tendency to excite envy, and to provoke detraction, nor did Crichton escape that lot which has been common to so many others. On his return to Venice, he was induced by the malignity of certain individuals, whom he does not mention by name, to publish a remarkable program, which has been preserved by his friend Manutius. In order to expose the futility of their cavils, he undertook to refute innumerable errors of Aristotle, and of all the Latin philosophers, that is, all the schoolmen, both in their expositions of his doctrines, and in their disquisitions on subjects of theology, together with the errors of certain professors of mathematics, and to answer such objections as might be urged against him. He further gave his antagonists the option of selecting their topics of disputation from any other branch of science, whether publicly taught in the schools, or privately investigated by the most profound philosophers ; and he undertook to return his answers, as the proponents should themselves determine, either according to the usual figures of logic, according to the secret doctrine of numbers, or

mathematical figures, or in any one out of a hundred different species of verse. The challenge may appear sufficiently bold, if not arrogant; but unless it came from a person who was conscious of possessing very extraordinary powers of intellect, and who had repeatedly applied to them a severe and unequivocal test, it could scarcely be viewed in any other light than as an indication of insanity. He appealed to a community which included many competent judges of such pretensions, and he therefore could not hope to impose upon an unlearned multitude. The appointed place of meeting was the church of St John and St Paul; and there, for the space of three days, this young man sustained the arduous trial in a manner which fully justified his confidence in his own intellectual resources. His friend Aldus Manutius was a spectator of his triumphs upon this occasion; and though some allowances must doubtless be made for the warmth of friendship, and for an Italian taste in writing, it is still to be remembered that when he published his account, the event to which it referred was altogether recent, and he necessarily appealed to a cloud of living witnesses, who would have treated his panegyric with derision, if Crichton had obviously failed in supporting his own lofty pretensions.

After his departure from Venice, he betook himself to Mantua; and there, according to Urquhart's romantic narrative, he rendered himself very conspicuous by his valiant encounter with a fierce Italian gentleman, who had recently slain three antagonists. Crichton is said to have challenged this redoubtable champion, and after many efforts of mutual skill, to have brought the matter to this conclusion: "His right foot did beat the cadence of the blow that pierced the belly of this Italian; whose heart and throat being hit with the two former stroaks, these three franch bouts given in upon the back of other: besides that, if lines were imagined drawn from the hand that livered them, to the places which were marked by them, they

would represent a perfect isosceles triangle, with a perpendicular from the top-angle, cutting the basis in the middle."¹ The learned knight had studied mathematics, and he seems to have been fully resolved that his knowledge should be turned to some account. This combat he has described in a very circumstantial manner; but, viewing his unsupported authority with no small degree of suspicion, we feel no inclination to repeat his martial details, which however are not a little curious in themselves. But it is a fact confirmed by other evidence, that Crichton was invited or attracted to the court of Mantua, and that the duke appointed him tutor to his son Vincenzo Gonzaga. Here, according to the knight of Cromarty, he displayed his dramatic talents as conspicuously as he had formerly displayed his learning and his prowess. In the space of five hours, he is said to have represented fifteen different characters, and to have supported each of them with marvellous effect. But his brilliant career was speedily to close. When he was one evening walking in the streets of Mantua with his lute in his hand, he was unexpectedly assailed by three individuals; and drawing his sword, he pressed upon them with so much skill and resolution, that the principal aggressor was impelled by his fears to discover himself as young Gonzaga. Crichton fell upon his knees, and entreated forgiveness for an act which evidently inferred no guilt, when the prince instantly pierced him through the body, and terminated the mortal existence of one of the most remarkable persons of the era to which he belonged.² This act of base ferocity was perpetrated on the third of July 1583, when Crichton had nearly completed the twenty-third year of his age. The accuracy of this statement has however been rendered

¹ Urquhart's Jewel, p. 90.

² Imperialis Musaeum Historicum, p. 242. Venetiis, 1640, 4to. In mentioning their first encounter, he uses the expression, "consulto an casu, incertum."

somewhat questionable by the discovery of two poems which bear his name, together with a subsequent date. One of these is an elegy on the death of Cardinal Borromeo, which did not take place till the third of November 1584.¹ The other is addressed to Visconti, his successor in the archbishopric of Milan, and is dated on the ninth of the ensuing month.² But for so remarkable a fact as the murder of his cherished and admired friend, the authority of Manutius cannot well be called in question ; nor is it in the least degree improbable that these poems were written and printed nearly two centuries after the date which they bear. In their composition, I can discover nothing which it required the talents of Crichton to produce. Cigogna has acquainted us with a very successful attempt to counterfeit an antique edition of an Italian tract describing their reputed author.

Of the tragical death of this extraordinary youth, we find a circumstantial account in a contemporary writer. He does not indeed mention Crichton by name, but of the identity of the person no doubt can reasonably be entertained. "I remember," says Wright, "that when I was in Italy, there was a Scottish gentleman, of most rare and singular parts, who was a retainer to a duke of that country ; hee was a singular good scholler, and as good a souldier. It chanced one night the yong prince, either vpon

¹ *Epicedium illustrissimi et reverendissimi Cardinalis Caroli Borromaei, ab Iacobo Critonio Scoto, rogatu clarissimi, summaque in optimum pastorem suum pietate, viri Ioannis Antonii Magii Mediolanen. proximo post obitum die exaratum. De consensu Superiorum. Mediolani, ex typographia Pacifici Pontii, M.D.LXXXIIII.*

² *Iacobi Critonii Scoti ad amplissimum ac reverendissimum virum Gasparem Vicecomitem, summa omnium ordinum voluntate, ad praeclaram Archiepiscopatus Mediolanen. Administrationem delectum. Mediolani, ex typographia Pacifici Pontii, M.D.LXXXIIII.* Both poems are reprinted in the preface to Mr Ainsworth's Crichton.

some spleene, or false suggestion, or to trie the Scots valour, mette him in a place where he was wont to haunt, resolving either to kill, wound, or beate him, and, for this effect, conducted with him two of the best fencers he could finde, the Scot had but one friend with him : in fine, a quarrel is pickt, they all draw, the Scot presently ranne one of the fencers thorow, and killed him in a trice ; with that he bended his forces to the prince, who fearing least that which was befallen his fencer might happen vpon himselfe, he exclaimed out instantly that he was the prince, and therefore willed him to looke about him what he did : the Scot perceiuing well what he was, fell downe vpon his knees, demaunding pardon at his hands, and gaue the prince his naked rapier, who no sooner had receiued it, but with the same sword he ran him thorow to death : the which barbarous fact, as it was condemned of all men, so it sheweth the precipitation of his passionate irefull heart ; for if he had considered the humble submission of his seruant, and loyaltie of his subiect, and valour of his souldier, if he had weighed the cowardlinesse of his fact, the infamie that he should thereby incurre, he would neuer haue precipitated into so sauage an offence."¹

The elegance of his person had procured him the admiration of those who were unable to estimate the powers of his mind. His countenance is described as beautiful ; but his right eye was marked, if not somewhat disfigured, by a red spot, or, as Manutius describes it, a red rose by which it was surrounded. His reputation as a scholar did not render him indifferent to the more superficial accomplishments of a gentleman : his address was courteous, and he was a proficient in dancing, as well as in the gymnastic

¹ The Passions of the Minde in generall. In sixe bookes. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented: by Thomas Wright. Lond. 1621, 4to. The passage which I have quoted occurs in p. 55.

and martial exercises to which youths of his condition were then addicted.

The unrivalled fame of this young scholar is certainly allied to romance ; but, on the other hand, it is very difficult to imagine that it was not originally founded on some qualities which eminently distinguished him from other forward and aspiring youths, who at that period were sufficiently numerous in the more learned countries of Europe. A reputation so splendid, and so uniformly maintained, cannot reasonably be ascribed to a mere concurrence of accidental circumstances. The specimens of his Latin poetry which have been preserved, do not indeed contain any thing very remarkable ; but they are few in number, and were not published by himself ; nor does his reputation depend upon one species of excellence. He is celebrated for the wonderful facility with which he composed verses, for his knowledge of ten or twelve different languages, for his acquaintance with the writings of the fathers, for his uncommon powers of memory, and for his promptitude and acuteness in public disputation. We must not therefore hastily conclude that he " was in Italy considered as one of those literary mountebanks who were numerous in that age ;" or that his reputation chiefly depends on the romantic flights of Sir Thomas Urquhart, who wrote about seventy years after his death. Joseph Scaliger, who flourished at the same period with himself, who professes to have obtained his information in Italy, and who besides was not too prone to admiration, mentions Crichton as a prodigious genius, and indeed enumerates all the most essential qualifications that are commonly ascribed to him.¹ His testi-

¹ " J'ay oüy parler d'un Critton Escossois en Italie, qui n'avoit que 21 ans, quand il a esté tué par le commandement du duc de Mantouë ; et qui sçavoit 12 langues, avoit leu les peres, poëtes, disputoit de omni scibili, et respondoit en vers. C'estoit ingenium prodigiosum, admiratione magis quam amore dignum. Il estoit un

mony, which is entirely overlooked by the late Dr Black,¹ is certainly of considerable weight and importance. Crichton is likewise extolled in terms of the highest admiration, in a work published so early as the year 1609 by Dr Abernethy, a native of Edinburgh, and a member of the university of Montpellier.² The longer of the two poems which he wrote in celebration of his young countryman, commences with these verses :

O foelix animi juvenis Chrichtone ! vigore
 Ingenii volitante supra qui vectus in astra
 Humanam sortem, et mortalis culmen honoris,
 Seu placuit Musas colere, aut glomeramine campum
 Tundere cornipedis, pictisve ardescere in armis ;
 Grandia sublimis nuper miracula mentis
 Monstrasti attonito, et rapuisti protinus orbi.³

To the early testimonies which we have already produced, many others, somewhat more recent, might easily be added ; and we are fully prepared to acquiesce in the opinion of Dr Johnson, that of Crichton's history, " whatever we may suppress as surpassing credibility, yet we shall, upon incontestible authority, relate enough to rank him among prodigies."⁴ Dr Kippis, who has written a copious account of this renowned youth, has legitimately applied the test of criticism to several of the early notices ; and many

peu fat. Ei judicium non tantum adfuit. Principes solent illa ingenia amare, non vero bene doctos. Manutius præfatione ad *Paradoxa*, quam dicat Crittonio, meminit illius ingenii." (Scaligerana, p. 58.)

¹ Black's *Life of Tasso*, vol. ii. p. 413. Edinb. 1810, 2 vols. 4to.

² Adam Abernethy took the degree of A. M. at Edinburgh on the 7th of August 1594. He afterwards took that of M. D. probably in some foreign university. He is described as "*Monspelienſis Academiae moderſtor.*"

³ *Musa Campeſtris*, &c. authore Adamo Abrenetheo ex Scoto-Britannia, Edinburgeno. *Monspelii*, 1609, 8vo.

⁴ *Adventurer*, No. 81.

of his strictures, particularly those on Urquhart and Mackenzie, every person of a sober judgment must admit to be too well founded. We have however placed no reliance on such authorities, but have derived all our materials from better sources. "He appears," says this biographer, "to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years ; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound, may justly be questioned ; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment."¹ In all controversies, it is of the first importance to ascertain the real state of the question. In a youth of twenty-three, whatever superiority of intellect he may possess, we do not expect to find the erudition of Scaliger or Salmasius. Those who extol Crichton as a very extraordinary person, do not necessarily suppose that his attainments exceeded the limits of human genius : but they may reasonably believe that, in various departments of science and literature, he arrived at a degree of proficiency wonderfully premature ; that he evinced great energy of application, with unusual powers of memory ; and that of the knowledge which he so rapidly acquired, he possessed so ready a command, together with so much promptitude and acuteness of mental exertion, that he appeared as a prodigy

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iv. p. 455.

among men of the ordinary standard of intellectual excellence.¹

¹ "Ce fut," says Bayle, "l'un des plus extraordinaires prodiges d'esprit qu'on ait jamais vus." (*Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 941.) This is scarcely exceeded by the panegyric of Imperiali: "Hic est Critonius ille Scotus, transacti dudum saeculi monstrum, prodigioso naturae opificis conatu editum, quo Parnassi spacia stupendo et inusitato spectaculo illustrarentur. Hic est totius adhuc orbis judicio Phoenix habitus ingeniorum, divinae mentis igniculis summi potius datoris referens majestatem, quam mortalem ad aemulandum lacegens industriam." (*Musaeum Historicum*, p. 241.)

DUNCAN LIDDELL.

JOHN the father of Duncan Liddell was an honest citizen of Aberdeen, where he was himself born in the year 1561. His mother followed the occupation of a midwife ; which, as Gilbert Gray has taken care to remind his readers, was also the occupation of Socrates's mother. In the public school of his native city, he acquired a moderate knowledge of the Latin language and of arithmetic ;¹ and after this very slender preparation, he determined to adopt the plan, which was then so prevalent among his youthful countrymen, of seeking a better fortune in distant lands. In the year 1579 he accordingly embarked for Dantzic, and passing through Poland, arrived at Frankfurt on the Oder, where his countryman, John Craig, was then professor of logic and of mathematics. The circumstance of his meeting with this learned and friendly individual regulated the future course of his life. His resources appear to have been scanty, and his prospects of continuing a literary career almost desperate, when the timely advice and aid of Craig encouraged and enabled him to prosecute his studies in that university.² Liddell continued his residence for two

¹ Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 111. is evidently mistaken in his averment that Liddell belonged to Marischal College ; which was not founded till the year 1593, when he occupied a professor's chair in a foreign university.

² In the dedication of his *Disputationes Medicinales* to Dr Craig, he expresses himself in the following terms : " Nam cum nemini

or three years ; and during that period, he attended his different courses of lectures, together with those of other professors. To the study of mathematics and philosophy he added that of physic.

Dr Craig, after having taught for several years at Frankfurt, determined to revisit his native country, where he at length rose to eminence as a physician. Before his departure, he sent his young friend to Breslau in Silesia, where he was recommended to the protection of Andreas Dudithius. One biographer is evidently mistaken in supposing that Breslau was then the seat of a university: the foundation of a university was not laid till the year 1702, when the Jesuits established their theological seminary ; and with this the university transferred from Frankfurt was incorporated in the year 1810. Dudithius was a native of Buda, and had been a bishop in Hungary. As a deputy from the Hungarian clergy, he had sat in the council of Trent, where he distinguished himself by his liberality of sentiment and powers of eloquence. Among other reforms, he strenuously recommended the dispensing of the cup to the laity, and the abolition of clerical celibacy. In conformity with his own principles, he married a maid of honour at the court of Poland ; and having resigned his ecclesiastical preferments, he publicly professed the protestant religion, but finally subsided into the opinions of the unitarians.¹ He was distinguished for his literary attain-

pluribus quam tibi devinctus sim beneficiis, non ingratus solum essem, sed etiam plus quam dici queat impius, si nullam referendae gratiae rationem ineundam mihi putarem. Tu me adolescentem venientem in Germaniam, desperantem de studiis literarum, in viam revocasti, et ope ac consilio tuo juvasti, aditumque ad veros philosophiae fontes mihi aperuisti. Cui igitur aequius erit primitias studiorum meorum medicorum offerre quam tibi, cui cuncta accepta re. ferre debeo ?"

¹ Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum, p. 61. Moreri, *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, tom. iv. p. 275. *General Biography*, vol. iii. p. 474.

ments, and was master of an elegant Latin style. In whatever capacity Liddell may have been connected with him, he appears to have had some opportunities of extending his mathematical knowledge ; and in this respect he is said to have derived advantage from his intercourse with Paul Wittich, who rendered familiar to him the sublime speculations of Copernicus. After an interval of more than a year, he returned to Frankfurt, where he resumed the study of physic, and in the mean time obtained employment as a private teacher of mathematics and philosophy. Here for the space of three years he continued to labour with increasing reputation, when a contagious distemper scattered the students, and compelled him to seek a place of greater safety. He directed his steps towards the university of Rostock, where he was kindly treated by Jo. Caselius, professor of philosophy and eloquence ; a learned man, born at Göttingen in 1533, partly educated in Germany, partly in Italy, and celebrated for the elegance of his Latinity.¹ He found another zealous friend in Brucaeus, a native of Flanders, who was eminent as a philosopher as well as a physician, and who, although an able mathematician, was not ashamed to admit that he derived from the instructions of Liddell a more perfect knowledge of the Copernican system. Here he likewise received private pupils ; and, according to Caselius, he was the first individual in Germany who explained the motions of the heavenly bodies, according to the hypotheses of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Brahe. Of the value of his academical instructions, the university testified its sense by conferring upon him the degree of doctor of philosophy, equivalent to that of master of arts.

¹ *Adami Vitae Germanorum Philosophorum*, p. 239. "Joannes Caselius, ipse dicendi magister, ex Victoriana, Philippica, et Camerariana disciplina, Sturmioque par." (*Bergleri de naturali Pulchritudine Orationis liber commentarius*, p. 707. Lipsiae, 1720, 4to.)

Having read lectures at Rostock in 1588 and 1589, he was next engaged as tutor to some young Livonians of rank ; and, in compliance with their wishes, he once more returned to Frankfurt. But the university of Helmstädt had been founded by the duke of Brunswick in the year 1576 ; and as its celebrity had already begun to attract many students, they came to the resolution of adding to the number. The new university had one material recommendation ; Caselius, after continuing for twenty-five years at Rostock, had there been appointed a professor of philosophy. Liddell immediately sought the dwelling of his good friend ; from whom he experienced so kind a reception, that he continued to reside under his roof till he finally bade adieu to Germany.¹ 'Not long after his arrival, one of the mathematical chairs became vacant ; and, through the recommendation of Caselius, supported by that of Grunefeldt, an eminent lawyer, it was bestowed upon Liddell, who had already given sufficient proofs of his ability as a teacher of the exact sciences. His appointment took place in the year 1591 ; and having taught with much reputation, he was in 1594 raised to the higher chair, on the death of another professor. He instructed his pupils, not only in geometry, but likewise in geography and astronomy, omitting none of the recent and great improvements in the latter branch of science.

Nor did he in the mean time abandon his medical studies. In the year 1596 he took the degree of M. D. ; and on this occasion he wrote an inaugural dissertation " De

¹ "Cumque Duncanus ante," says Caselius, "mihi fuisset familiaris, in intima mea familiaritate hic haesit ; immo perpetuum habui domesticum nunquam cogitantem de nuptiis. Nec ipse de suis rebus magis cogitavit, quam ipsi fecimus ; etenim altera professione mathematicum vacante, non putavimus negligendum hunc hospitem, qui optato non sibi magis quam academiae advenisset." In a letter to Kepler, he likewise mentions Liddell as one of his most intimate friends. (*Epistolae ad Joannem Keplerum*, p. 493.)

Melancholia," which he inscribed to two Livonian brothers, named Nolden, who were probably the pupils formerly mentioned. He was afterwards nominated one of the professors of physic, but did not immediately resign his other chair. "By his teaching and writings," as Mr Stuart¹ has collected from various authorities, "he was the chief support of the medical school of Helmstädt, was employed as first physician at the court of Brunswick, and had much practice among the principal families of that country." For several years he continued to be a member of two faculties in the university, and was repeatedly chosen dean of each. As dean of the faculty of philosophy in 1599, he conferred the degrees of master of arts and doctor of philosophy on twenty candidates, some of whom rose to distinction in the republic of letters. The most conspicuous of these was Henningus Arnisaeus, who afterwards was a professor of physic in the university of Helmstädt, and who, besides his medical works, published various treatises on philosophy, politics, and jurisprudence. He was a strenuous assertor of the inviolable authority of kings.² Liddell resigned his mathematical chair in 1603, and in the following year he was appointed prorector of the university.

From this period he appears to have been chiefly occupied with his medical lectures and medical practice. His first considerable publication bears the following title: "Disputationum Medicinalium Duncani Liddellii Scoti,

¹ John Stuart, A. M. professor of Greek in Marischal College, Aberdeen. He was appointed in 1782, and died in 1827. He published anonymously "A Sketch of the Life of Dr Duncan Liddell of Aberdeen, Professor of Mathematics and of Medicine in the University of Helmstadt." Aberdeen, 1790, 4to. This biographical tract, which is similar in its plan to those of Lord Hailes, displays very considerable research. It is accompanied with a portrait of Liddell, copied from the tablet in St Nicholas's church.

² Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, tom. i. p. 346.

Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctoris, et Professoris Publici in Academia Julia, pars prima." Helmaestadii, 1605, 4to. Several other parts were subsequently added.¹ The first part contains an elegant and grateful dedication to Dr Craig, who was then physician to the king. From the epistle dedicatory,² as well as from other portions of his writings, it appears that Liddell, who was himself a man of general learning, had formed a large and liberal estimate of the qualifications necessary to a physician. These disputations, which at length amounted to so ample a number, were written by the professor for the purpose of exercising the candidates for degrees. The same materials were to a great extent incorporated in his more systematic works.

After having resided in Germany for nearly twenty-eight years, he adopted the resolution of returning to his native land. Having avoided the expense of housekeeping, and lived as a boarder with his friend Caselius, he had saved a considerable sum of money, accruing from his lectures as

¹ Haller enumerates the following, among other publications of Liddell. *De Concoctione*. Helmstadii, 1595, 4to. *De Generatione Hominis*. Ibid. 1597, 4to. *De altrice, auctrice, et vitali Facultate*. Ibid. 1603, 4to. (*Bibliotheca Anatomica*, tom. i. p. 276.) These were apparently some of his *Disputationes Medicinales*, published in a separate form. Manget mentions "*Universae Medicinae Compendium, quod nervosis aliquot Disputationibus in illustri Julia quondam inclusit*. Helmaestadii, apud haered. Jacobi Lucii, 1605, 1620, in 4." (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum*, tom. ii. part. i. p. 79.)

² "Summi illi viri, qui omnium primi magna cum gloria et emolumento humani generis medicinam exercuerunt, non contenti vulgaribus fallacibusque experimentis, in naturae adita summo studio acrique judicio penetrarunt, indeque cum philosophia salubrium et insalubrium, cognitionem absolutamque medendi rationem nobis retulerunt, adeo ut non solum morborum curatio et naturae contemplatio sub iisdem autoribus nata sit, sed etiam ipsa ars medica non infima sapientiae pars haberi coeperit, nemoque boni medici nomen demereri potuerit, qui non universa fere sapientiae studia degustaverit."

well as his practice. His departure was probably hastened by the state of the university, as the students had been dispersed by the tumults and contingencies of war. One of these students was John Craig, the nephew of his early friend and benefactor, and a young man of promising talents, who was now removed to Padua for the benefit of medical instruction. About the beginning of the year 1607 Liddell bade adieu to Helmstädt, and having travelled through Germany and Italy, he finally returned to Scotland, to which he had formerly paid more than one occasional visit.

Whether he resumed the practice of physic, we have no certain information ; but it is evident that he lost no time in preparing some medical works for the press. The earliest of these is "*Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata, auctore Duncano Liddelio Scoto.*" Hamburgi, 1608, 8vo. Hamb. 1617, 8vo. Hamb. 1628, 8vo. This work is dedicated to King James ; and the dedication is followed by an elegant epistle from Caselius to Dr Craig, in which he gives an interesting account of the author's personal history, from the period of his arrival in Germany. It is dated at Helmstädt on the first of May 1607. All these editions were published by Froben, an eminent bookseller. The third is inscribed to Dr Dun of Aberdeen, to whom he acknowledges his obligation for having sent him a copy corrected and enlarged by the author. After a short interval, this elaborate volume was succeeded by another, bearing the title "*De Febribus libri tres, auctore Duncano Liddelio Scoto.*" Hamb. 1610, 8vo. It is dedicated to Henry prince of Wales.¹

¹ These two works were reprinted in a volume which bears the following title : "*Duncani Liddellii Scoti, Medici clarissimi, Operum omnium Iatro-Galenicorum, ex intimis artis medicæ adytis et penetralibus erutorum, tomus unicus: nunc recens ab infinitis, quibus ex typographi incuria, scatebat erroribus ac mendis, repurgatus defæcatusque, a tractatum et capitum ἀραξία probe vendicatus, notati-*

On the 12th of July 1612, Dr Liddell executed at Edinburgh "his first deed of settlement, by which he bestows certain lands purchased by him near Aberdeen, upon the university there, in all time coming, for the education and support of six poor scholars. Among a variety of regulations and injunctions for the management of this charity, he appoints the magistrates of Aberdeen his trustees, and solemnly denounces the curse of God against any person who shall abuse or misapply it." On the 9th of December 1613 "he executed at Aberdeen another deed of settlement, by which he confirms his former donation, and farther bequeaths to Marischal College, for the endowment of a professorship of mathematics, the sum of 6000 merks; which having been afterwards judiciously laid out, by the magistrates his trustees, in the purchase of lands in the neighbourhood, now produces a very considerable salary to that professor. He also bequeaths his whole collection of books and mathematical instruments to the same college, directing a small sum to be expended annually in adding to the collection, and another to be distributed among the poor."¹ His library, as we learn from another source of information, consisted of "the works of the ancient physicians and mathematicians, Greek, Latin, and Arabic; and of the most eminent authors who had written on these subjects in his own time."²

Dr Liddell did not long survive these acts of charity and munificence. He died on the 17th of December 1613, after having only attained the fifty-second year of his age.

unculis aliquot in margine auctus et illustratus, atque adeo juxta mentem authoris splendori suo restitutus, opera et studio Ludovici Serrani, D. Medici Lugdunensis." Lugduni, 1624, 4to. The editor, whose taste in composition is somewhat peculiar, speaks of the author as "*unus inter alios Duncanus, in arte medica vere canus, et medicorum nostri saeculi decanus.*"

¹ Stuart's Life of Liddell, p. 5.

² Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 107.

His funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert Gray, principal of Marischal College.¹ His remains were interred in St Nicholas's church, "where the magistrates placed in memory of him a large tablet of brass, upon which is engraved a figure of the deceased in his professor's gown and cap, surrounded by books and instruments, and accompanied with a suitable inscription." The tablet was executed at Antwerp in the year 1622; and the expense of engraving and placing it amounted to fourteen hundred marks. Another monument, in the form of an obelisc, was erected at Pitmedden, within a distance of seven miles from Aberdeen. The residue of his fortune he bequeathed to a brother, named John, and to a sister, both of whom had children; and some of their descendants were very recently to be found in that city.

The writings of Liddell were held in great estimation by his contemporaries, and seem to contain an able digest of the medical learning of the age in which he lived. He was evidently a man of talents, and was familiarly acquainted with the works of the ancient as well as the modern physicians; and having successfully cultivated other branches of science, he had a manifest advantage over the ordinary professors of the healing art. The medical writers of that period seldom aim at any great purity of diction,

¹ *Oratio Funebris in Memoriam cl. viri Duncani Liddellii, Medicinæ Doctoris, et Mathematicum Professoris celeberrimi, scripta et pronunciata a Gilberto Grayo, Gymnasiarcha Academiæ Novæ Abredoniæ, Decemb. 23. anno 1613. Cui accesserunt et alia Eulogia. Excudebat Andreas Hart bibliopola anno Dom. 1614, 4to.* Among the poetical eulogies we find an Apotheosis of eight pages, written by David Wedderburn. There are only other two poems, which are anonymous. His memory was likewise celebrated by Andrew Ramsay, who became professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh. (*Poemata Sacra Andreae Ramsæi, Pastoris Edinburgensis. Edinb. 1633, 8vo.*)

but he at least writes with precision and perspicuity; and his dedications, where he is not confined to technical subjects, are sufficient to evince that he was not incapable of writing with elegance. Hermann Conring, the most illustrious of his successors in the medical chair, has commemorated Liddell as a great ornament of the university of Helmstädt.

Several years after the death of the author, appeared "*Duncani Liddellii de Dente Aureo Tractatus, nunc primum ex musaeo Joach. Morsii editus.*" It was subjoined to the edition of his *Ars Medica* printed in 1628. Jacob Horst, another medical professor of the same university, had "published a truly ridiculous performance, and dedicated it to the emperor Rudolphus the Second; in which, from ocular inspection, and by many learned arguments, he endeavours to vindicate the truth of a popular story then current, of a poor boy of Silesia, who at seven years of age having lost some of his teeth, his parents were astonished at the appearance of a new one of pure gold. Horstius seriously looks upon this wonderful tooth as a prodigy sent from heaven to encourage the Germans, then at war with the Turks; from it foretells the future victories of the Christians, with the final destruction of the Turkish empire and Mahometan faith, and a return of the golden age in 1600, preparatory to the end of the world. This wretched performance Dr Liddell takes the trouble to refute, as he says, for the honour of the Academia Julia, and because the reveries of his colleague were obtaining too much credit in that ignorant age. He appears however ashamed to treat the subject seriously, but employs the powers of irony and ridicule against his unfortunate opponent with much success. He says, he should as soon believe that the whole body of the boy was made of gold as one of his teeth, talks of idle dreams and old women's tales, and hints that the brain of a certain person, whom, for the sake of his repu-

tation, he is unwilling to name, would require a little hellobore."¹ Liddell had composed his tract before the imposture was formally detected. Haller enumerates other works published on the same extraordinary subject, which long afterwards attracted the attention of Van Dale.²

Another posthumous work appeared under the subsequent title: "*Artis Conservandi Sanitatem libri duo, a clarissimo D. Doctore Liddelio defuncto delineati, atque opera et studio D. Patricii Dunaei, M. D. ad colophonem perducti, et in apicum prolati.*" Aberdoniae, 1651, 8vo. Dr Dun had been one of his pupils at Helmstädt; and having then experienced much of his kindness, he testified his regard for the professor's memory by completing and publishing the work which he had left in an unfinished state.³ His own style of composition, as the very title of the volume may serve to evince, is sufficiently scholastic. He states in the preface that he was frequently urged to the undertaking by Alexander Jeffray, who was repeatedly provost of the city, and an individual of considerable influence.

Of this learned writer, these are the only works respecting which we possess any certain information; but, if we may rely on the authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart, he published some controversial tracts on the subject of astronomy.

¹ Stuart's *Life of Liddel*, p. 9.

² Antonii van Dale de *Oraculis veterum Ethnicorum Dissertationes duae*, p. 422. Amst. 1700, 4to.

³ Patrick Dun, M.D. took his degree at Basel in the year 1601. In 1619 he was elected professor of physic in King's College, and in 1621 he succeeded Dr Forbes as principal of Marischal College. Strachan mentions him as a physician of great practice: "*Quantis cum opibus, tum honoribus Galenus Dunaeum medicum, cum doctrina tum usu praestantissimum, cumularit, non divinari audeo. Non fori, non causicorum limina teruntur magis ac ejus aedes. Illum salutant patricii, veneratur plebs.*" (*Panegyricus Inauguralis*, p. 22.) He was a great benefactor to the grammar school. (*Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol ii. p. 130.)

"He was," as that author states, "an eminent professor of the mathematicks, a disciple of the most excellent astronomer Tycho Brahe, and condisciple of that worthy Longomontanus: yet in imitation of Aristotle (whose doctrine with great proficiency he had imbued) esteeming more of truth than of either Socrates or Plato, when the new star began to appear in the constellation of Cassiopeia, there was concerning it such an intershocking of opinions betwixt Tycho Brahe and Doctor Liddel, evulged in print to the open view of the world, that the understanding reader could not but have commended both for all, and yet, in giving each his due, praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy."¹ Of this controversy we find no vestige, either in the work of Gassendi or in that of Delambre; and, as Mr Stuart has remarked, no such controversy could take place at the period which Urquhart specifies. The new star in Cassiopeia appeared in the month of November 1572, and the Danish astronomer published the result of his observations before the close of the ensuing year, when his supposed antagonist was still a schoolboy at Aberdeen. In reference, not to the star which appeared in 1572, but to the comet which appeared in 1577, a controversy took place between Tycho Brahe and Dr Craig; nor is it improbable that the learned knight may have confounded the professor of Frankfurt with the professor of Helmstädt.² But his statements sometimes rest on a better

¹ Urquhart's Jewel, p. 201.

² Gassendi informs us that in the year 1592 Craig, a Scottish physician, published a tract against Tycho Brahe, under the title of "*Caputuranae Restinctio, seu, Cometarum in Aethera Sublimationis Refutatio*;" and that an answer to it was written by Christianus Longomontanus. (*Vita Tychonis Brahei*, p. 154, 183, 240.) In a long epistle to Rothmann, dated at Uranienborg on the 14th of January 1595, Brahe introduces various animadversions on this Scottish adversary, whom he however does not mention by name. "*Is vero qui prae caeteris nostrum in re cometica studium elevare et oppug-*

foundation than is generally supposed; and it is certain that the one as well as the other had excited the violent animosity of this distinguished individual. Liddell had repeatedly visited him at his castle of Uranienborg in the island of Hveen,¹ where he had erected a magnificent observatory, furnished with instruments "of far greater size, more skilfully contrived, and more nicely divided,

nare attentavit, Scotus quidam natione fuit, medicinae Galenicæ doctor, et Aristoteleæ philosophiæ supra modum addictus. Quem hic nominare nolo, ejus honori parcens. Vult quidem is genere nobilis haberi, uti de se ipso nonnullibi insinuat." (Tychonis Brahe Dani Epistolarum Astronomicarum liber primus, p. 286. edit. Francof. 1610, 4to.) See Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. ii. c. 491. and Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, p. 120. Dr. Craig, who published this tract in 1592, could not be Sir Thomas Craig's third son, who must then have been a very young man.

¹ "Early the following morning," says Dr Henderson, "we passed the island of Hveen, famous on account of its having been the residence of the celebrated astronomer Tycho Brahe. A more eligible spot he could not perhaps have found, as the island lies high, and the coasts on both sides being low, a most extensive horizon presents itself to the view. The observatory which he erected here, and to which, from its destination, he gave the name of Uraniaborg, was raised at great expense, part of which was borne by the king of Denmark, and the rest defrayed by the astronomer himself. He is said to have expended no less than 100,000 rix-dollars on its erection. It was not only built in a highly ornamental style, but regularly fortified; yet it did not remain in a perfect state for more than twenty years, and now there is scarcely a single vestige remaining to tell the inquisitive traveller where it stood. Some years ago, I recollect having spent a night here with Major Stuart, a natural son of the pretender, in whose possession the place at that time was; but all I could discover was merely the remainder of a vault, and a few slight traces of the fortification." (Iceland, or, the Journal of a Residence in that Island during the years 1814 and 1815, vol. i. p. 4. Edinb. 1818, 2 vols. 8vo.) Huct, who visited the place in 1652, found it nearly in the same condition. (Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus, p. 86. Hagæ Com. 1718, 12mo.)

than any that had yet been directed to the heavens."¹ That he attained to preëminent knowledge in the science of astronomy, and made various discoveries of great importance, is universally admitted; but he unfortunately rejected the system of Copernicus, and laboured to substitute another, which presents the sun as revolving round the earth, while it is the centre of motion to the rest of the planets. Thus he himself made a retrograde motion towards the system of Ptolemy, and produced a compound of two preceding systems. In one of his letters to Kepler, he accuses Liddell of arrogating to himself the glory of his hypotheses, which he had explained to the latter during one of his visits to Uranienborg. When he read private lectures in the university of Rostock, he did not openly claim the merit of discoveries which had thus come to his knowledge; but when he removed to a greater distance from the shores of the Baltic, he did not scruple to assert, not merely in private letters, but even in his public prelections, that he was the real author of the astronomical hypotheses ascribed to Brahe. Such at least is the tenor of the accusation against him; and it is corroborated by a long and pedantic enough letter, which Dr. Cramer, a clergyman of Stettin, addressed to Rosencrantz, a kinsman of the noble Dane.² This is a charge of a very peculiar nature, and it is very circumstantially urged. Liddell, according to the representation of Caselius, appears to have been a respectable, and even an amiable man; but if he was guilty of such conduct as has thus been imputed to him, he must have manifested as little regard to integrity as to common sense. Was it possible for him to suppose

¹ Playfair's *Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science*, p. 486.

² *Epistolæ ad Joannem Kepplerum scriptæ, insertis ad easdem Responsionibus Kepplerianis*, p. 111. 1718, fol. Daniel Cramer's letter to Rosencrantz is subjoined.

that such a clumsy device could escape detection? With his eminent attainments in science, Tycho Brahe united an irascibility of temperament which exposed him to divers inconveniencies and mishaps. One of these he encountered in a youthful measuring of swords with Mandrup Parsbierg,¹ who effected so material a breach in his nose, that during the remainder of his life he was obliged to wear a thin plate, composed of gold and silver, and very nicely fixed by some viscous substance.²

By the foundation of a mathematical professorship, Dr Liddell conferred a great benefit on the university. It was the wish of the founder that, with equal qualifications, a kinsman of his own should be preferred to other candidates. His nephew, who bore the same name and surname, was of a tender age at the period of Dr Johnston's appointment, in 1626. This first professor died in 1640; and, during the interval, Liddell had very successfully devoted himself to the cultivation of science. "I dare almost persuade my self," says Urquhart, "that there is not any within the isle of Britain with whom, taking in all the mathematical arts and sciences together, practical and theoretick, he will not be well pleased, upon occasion, to adventure a dispute for superiority in the most."³ But as he had not been sufficiently circumspect in his conduct, his claims were disregarded, and the office was bestowed upon William Moir. Another Duncan Liddell succeeded in 1661, and George Liddell in 1687. In 1717 he was succeeded by Colin Maclaurin, a mathematician of high celebrity, who at the age of nineteen obtained the chair, after a competition which was prolonged till the tenth day. He

¹ Worms Forsög til et Lexicon over Danske, Norske og Islandske lærde Mænd, Deel i. S. 151.

² Gassendi Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 11. Paris. 1654, 4to.

³ Urquhart's Jewel, p. 205. This original writer expresses a doubt whether either of Socrates's wives, "Xantippe or Myrto, was either so handsome or good as Master Liddels concubine."

afterwards became one of the great ornaments of the university of Edinburgh. Another memorable competition took place in the year 1766, when six candidates presented themselves, and after a trial of eleven days the chair was adjudged to William Trail.¹ The second in the list was Robert Hamilton, who was appointed professor of natural philosophy in 1779, and professor of mathematics in 1817. The third was John Playfair, who at that period was only eighteen years of age, and who successively became professor of mathematics and of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh.

¹ William Trail, LL. D. resigned his professorship in the course of a few years, and obtained preferment in the church of Ireland. His uncle became bishop of Down and Connor, and he was appointed chancellor of St. Saviour's, Connor. On the 29th of April 1799 he married at Edinburgh Lady Frances Wemyss Charteris, a daughter of the late earl of Wemyss. When I occasionally saw him, he must have been between seventy and eighty years of age; and he was at that period a man of the most venerable appearance. He had a very mild expression of countenance; his complexion was still ruddy, and his hair was not grey, but snowy white. Dr Trail's earliest work was printed, for the fifth time, under the following title: "Elements of Algebra, for the use of Schools and Universities. To which is added, an Appendix." Edinb. 1808, 8vo. He afterwards published a very elaborate "Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Simson, M. D. late Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow." Bath, 1812, 4to.

ROBERT JOHNSTONE.

Of the personal history of Robert Johnstone, a writer of considerable reputation, very few memorials have hitherto been discovered. We are however informed that he was the son of an honest burghess of Edinburgh, and that he was educated in the university of his native city.¹ He took the degree of A. M. in the year 1587. We may therefore conjecture that he was born about the year 1567. His father may perhaps have been a native of Annandale, where Johnstone is still a prevalent name. The son bequeathed legacies to some of his cousins in Annandale, L.500 sterling in trust to Lord Johnstone for building a bridge over the river Annan, and L.1000 in trust to the same nobleman for the maintenance of a grammar school at Moffat. Whether he prosecuted his studies in some foreign university, and there took his degree of LL. D., we are not informed.² He appears to have fixed his residence in London, and to have inherited or acquired a considerable fortune. Dempster, to whom we are indebted for so many scattered notices of Scottish writers, has stated that he was particularly esteemed by Lord Bruce of

¹ Crawford's History of the University of Edinburgh, p. 140.

² Maitland has erroneously described him as M. D. (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 369.) It is sufficiently ascertained from a variety of documents that he was a Doctor of Laws, *Juris utriusque* Doctor. He does not appear to have practised as a civilian.

Kinloss, and, although not a courtier, that he was acceptable to King James.¹

His testament, extracted from the register of the prerogative court of Canterbury, has lately been printed, and reflects some additional light upon his history.² He there describes himself as "Robert Johnstone, of the parish of St. Anne, Blackfryars, London, Esquire." The codicil is dated on the 12th of October 1639, and probate was granted to one of his executors six days afterwards; so that the testator must have died in that interval. The greatest part of his property he bequeathed to charitable and benevolent purposes. It is however to be suspected that his laudable intentions were in some cases frustrated: the bridge was never built over the Annan, nor did Moffat school derive much benefit from his legacy. He had been appointed one of the executors of his friend³ George Heriot; and he bequeathed L.1100 to the hospital. He bequeathed L.1000 "towards the maintenance of eight poor scholars" in the university of Edinburgh. The destination of his library is thus expressed: "As for my books, I do appoint the books of humanity, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, and Lexicon Graecum, to be sent unto Moffat in Annandale, when the aforesaid school is erected, with the Latin poets and commentaries: as for the Italian, French, and Spanish books, I would have them changed for books of philosophy, to be sent unto the College of Edinburgh: for my civil law books, and books of history, I give also to the said College of Edinburgh; and

¹ "Robertus Johnstonus, Baroni Killosensi dum vivebat carus, vir variae lectionis, rariae eruditionis, scripsit Historiam sui Seculi Latine, lib. i. et tersissimam, ut est limati iudicii. Vivit adhuc Londini virtutis merito, licet non aulicus, regi acceptus." (Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 394.)

² Constable's Memoirs of George Heriot, p. 163. Edinb. 1822, 8vo.

³ See Johnstone's Historia, p. 637.

my English books I give unto my said servant Hendry Heron."

Dr Johnstone had prepared a history of his own time ; and the earliest part of it, consisting of two books, appeared under the title of "*Historiarum libri duo, continentes Rerum Britannicarum vicinarumque Regionum Historias maxime memorabiles. Sunt praeter hos adhuc xx. libri, qui typographo nondum in manus venerunt.*" Amst. 1642, 12mo. It contains the author's dedication to King Charles, and the subsequent epigram, "*Ad Robertum Johnstonum Scoto-Britannum,*" written by John Owen :

Ingenii, Johnstone, tui sum factus amator,
Historiae legerem dum monumenta tuae.
Nil magis ingenuum, nihil ingeniosius extat
Tergeminae Britonum gentis in historia :
Excipias unum Morum de rege Ricardo,
Nemo Britannorum dignior invidia.¹

Such portions of the volume as relate to Scottish history were soon afterwards translated into English : "*The Historie of Scotland during the Minority of King James : written in Latine by Robert Johnston : done into English by T. M.*"² Lond. 1646, 12mo. This translator was perhaps Thomas Middleton, author of the Appendix to Spots-

¹ Johnstone has recorded the death and epigrammatic merit of Owen, with whom he was probably acquainted. His notice concludes thus : "*Dum vixit, egestate atque inopia conflictatus est. Mortuus, sumptu Coritani praesulis, sigilli custodis, in aede D. Pauli conditus, et laurea ad memoriam posteritatis coronatus est.*" (*Hist. Rerum Britannicarum*, p. 638.)

But still the great have kindness in reserve,
He helped to bury whom he helped to starve.

² This translation occurs in a volume entitled *Scotia Rediviva*, a Collection of Tracts illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Scotland, p. 361. Edinb. 1826, 8vo.

wood's History. The identity of the historian and of the individual who died in 1639, is established by the testimony of the translator, who mentions his author's bequest to the university of Edinburgh. He has however magnified the eight exhibitions into eight fellowships. The entire history at length made its appearance in an ample volume: "*Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572 ad annum 1628.*" *Amst.* 1655, fol. The editor, under the signature of J. S. has prefixed a very brief notice, which contains an erroneous statement of the author having himself published the first two books. Buchanan's history, according to the opinion of Nicolson, has been "continu'd in the same fine language" by Johnstone;¹ and Lord Woodhouselee describes this continuation as "a work of great merit, whether we consider the judicious structure of the narrative, the sagacity of the reflections, the acute discernment of characters, or the classical tincture of the style. In those passages of his history where there is room for a display of eloquence, he is often singularly happy in touching those characteristic circumstances which present the picture strongly to the mind of the reader, without a vain parade of words, or artificial refinement of sentiment."² Of this high commendation some readers may perhaps be disposed to make a considerable abatement, both as to the matter and style of Johnstone's history.

¹ Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 121.

² Woodhouselee's *Memoirs of Kames*, vol. i. app. p. 3.

MARK DUNCAN.

THE number and the eminence of the professors with whom Scotland supplied the universities of France, cannot fail to attract the attention of all those who are familiar with the literary history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The services of Boyce, Buchanan, Melville, Barclay, Balfour, Bellenden, Duncan, Donaldson, Cameron, and Dempster, are recorded in the present volume: many other professors are incidentally mentioned, and a long catalogue might without much difficulty be produced.

According to a manuscript account preserved by an English branch of the family, Mark was the son of Alexander, and the grandson of John Andrew Duncan of Airdrie in Fifeshire. According to the same account, William and his younger brother Mark were both born in London, and their father was born at Beverley in Yorkshire.¹ It is however evident that this statement is altogether erroneous. Mark Duncan the younger, in a poem prefixed to the third edition of his father's treatise on logic, leaves us in no uncertainty as to his native country:

Ecce Caledoniis Duncanus natus in oris.

And to the book he makes this apostrophe:

*Scotia cumprimis pernice adeunda volatu,
Namque patrem tellus edidit illa tuum.*

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 494, 2d edit.

A manuscript notice by another son describes the father as a Scotchman by nation, and a gentleman by birth.¹ It appears from an authentic document, that he was the son of Thomas Duncan of Maxpoffle in the county of Roxburgh, and the grandson of John Duncan of Logie in the county of Perth.² His grandmother was Elizabeth, the daughter of David Sibbald of Letham in the county of Perth; his mother was Janet, the daughter of Patrick Oliphant of Sowdoun in the county of Roxburgh, by Margaret the daughter of William Glaidstaines of Langtoun, brother to John Glaidstaines of Glaidstaines in the same county. The period of his birth I am unable to ascertain; but if we suppose him to have approached the age of threescore and ten, he must have been born about the year 1570.

¹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 825. art. *Cerisantes*. Scaliger mentions Scotland as the native country of Duncan and Buchanan: "In Scotiae occidentalibus, unde Duncanus et Buchananus sunt oriundi." (*Prima Scaligerana*, p. 33.)

² *Litera Prosapiae Marci Duncani, Medicinae Doctoris*, in inclita civitate Salmuriensi in Gallia. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6. 26. p. 23. This document is dated at Edinburgh on the 15th of October 1639. From an original letter, addressed to Sir John Scot, and dated at Saumur on the 14th of August 1639, it appears that he wished to procure such a certificate of what the French accounted nobility, as might exempt him from the payment of taxes. Scot's son had formerly been placed under his domestic charge at Saumur. There is a letter addressed to the same individual by Dr Duncan's second son, François Duncan de Sainte Helene. It is dated at London on the first of October 1641. The writer expresses his gratitude for many favours received from his correspondent. He describes himself as a soldier, and boasts of "estant d'un sang Escossois, qui ne degenerate jamais." (*Epistolae doctorum Virorum ad Jo. Scotum*, p. 151, 161.) Dr Duncan had a relation who was professor of philosophy at Montauban. In the year 1607 the national synod of Rochelle took cognizance of a too eager competition between him and Beraud the younger, for the Greek chair in that university. (*Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 288.)

We may safely conjecture that his education was conducted on the plan which was then so prevalent ; or, in other words, that he laid the foundation of learning in his native country, and completed his academical studies on the continent. In what university he took his degree of M. D. we are not informed. He was appointed professor of philosophy in the university of Saumur, the chief seminary of the French protestants ; a seminary which could boast of some very able professors, and which trained many students who became eminent in their generation. It was fostered by the pious care of Du Plessis-Mornay, one of the most distinguished adherents of the protestant party. In contemplating the history of those seminaries and that party, it is impossible for us to suppress a feeling of deep regret at the common ruin which afterwards overwhelmed them, in consequence of the faithless and unrelenting conduct of a cold-blooded tyrant, who sought to atone for the laxity of his moral conduct by a ferocious zeal for theological dogmas which he was incapable of understanding. If the protestants had been left to their natural progress in numerical strength and intellectual improvement, they might in modern times have presented a strong barrier against the inundation of that baneful and hopeless infidelity which has so widely prevailed. When such men as Voltaire and D'Alembert only viewed the Christian religion under the disguise of popish superstition, when they observed the open and scandalous profligacy of so many ecclesiastics, and when they recollected the atrocious cruelties by which this fabric of superstition had for many ages been upheld, was it altogether wonderful that they found no rest for the soles of their feet, no medium between the dotings of Romish delusion and the rejection of all revealed religion ?

As a professor of philosophy, Duncan attained to great celebrity, and some of his pupils reflected honour on the discipline of their master. Among these we cannot fail to

enumerate Jean Daillé, one of the most distinguished theologians of the seventeenth century.¹ His treatise on the use of the fathers in deciding the controversies between the two churches, not only evinces great depth of learning, but likewise great strength of judgment; and it may still be perused with much advantage, among other classes of enquirers, by those who are at present labouring in the vocation of introducing popery in disguise. By the publication of his *Institutio Logica*, the professor greatly extended his reputation as an acute and able logician.² Of this work, which he dedicated to Du Plessis-Mornay, there are at least three editions. It is mentioned in very favourable terms by Burgersdick, who was himself a logician of no small note.³

Dr Duncan married a French lady of a good family, and thus strengthened his connexion with his adopted country. To his academical labours he added the practice of physic, and with so much credit and reputation, that from this source his income must have derived no inconsiderable augmentation. So high indeed was his reputation, that King James invited him to England, and transmitted to him a formal appointment as his own physician. But when so promising a road to preferment was thus opened, he

¹ "Il entra en logique à Poitiers à l'âge de seize ans, et acheva à Saumur sous le célèbre Duncan son cours de philosophie." (Bayle, tom. ii. p. 945.)

² Marci Duncani, *Philosophiae in Academia Salmuriensi Professoris, Institutionis Logicae libri quinque*. Salmurii, 1612, 8vo. The third edition appeared after the death of the author: *Institutionis Logicae libri quinque, in usum Academiae Salmuriensis tertium editi, ut erant ab auctore recogniti*. Salmurii, 1643, 8vo.

³ "Methodum petii ex ipsa artis natura. In quo tamen ex parte secutus sum institutum clarissimi viri Marci Duncani, in Academia Salmuriensi professoris philosophiae praestantissimi, et olim collegae mei conjunctissimi, cujus accuratae Institutiones Logicae majus auxilium mihi tulerunt in meis Institutionibus opte ordinandis, quam ullae aliae." (Burgersdicii *Institutiones Logicae*, praef.)

found himself intercepted by the reluctance of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and who could not be induced to leave Anjou, for the purpose of settling in what she might perhaps consider as a half-barbarous country. He therefore continued to reside at Saumur ; and the only material change in his condition was his promotion to the office of principal, with which he retained his professorship of philosophy.

In the exercise of his medical profession, he had some peculiar opportunities for observing the progress of a very remarkable and very disgraceful transaction. Urbain Grandier, curate and canon of Loudun, attracted so much notice as a preacher, that he excited the envy and malignity of the monks in his vicinity. They at first endeavoured to effect his ruin by accusing him of a scandalous commerce with women, even within the precincts of his own church ; but after various judicial proceedings, he was declared innocent of this charge, and they at length had recourse to a more extraordinary expedient. The Ursuline nuns of Loudun were supposed to be possessed with devils, and his enemies imputed their condition to his exercise of magic arts. His greatest enemies were the Capuchins of the same place, who very dexterously availed themselves of their associate Father Joseph's influence with Cardinal de Richelieu. An anonymous satire against the cardinal had been published under the title of " *La Cordonniere de Loudun.*" By the agency of their worthy brother, they conveyed the information, which however appears to have been false, that this satire was the production of Grandier. The cardinal, who was implacable and unrelenting in all such cases of personal offence, lost no time in transmitting instructions to his creature, M. de Laubardemont, a counsellor of state, who was then superintending the demolition of the castle at Loudun. Having caused Grandier to be arrested in the month of December 1633, he hastened to concert with his employer measures of signal

vengeance. On the 8th of July 1634, letters patent were expedited to Laubardemont, and to twelve judges belonging to tribunaux contiguous to Loudun, empowering and enjoining them to proceed in due form with the trial of the accused. On the 18th of August, he was convicted of sorcery on the evidence of the nuns; and, to the indelible disgrace of all those who were concerned in so nefarious a plot, the unfortunate man was committed to the flames.¹ In this plot the abbess manifestly had a very criminal participation. Duncan had the sagacity to detect, and the courage to expose this infamous and cruel imposture. He published, but without his name, a tract on the supposed possession of the nuns.² It is written with talent and dexterity. The conclusion at which the author arrives is such as might be expected from a man of sense and discernment; but at that period the management of a negative argument in any similar case, required no small degree of caution. It appears from different passages of the tract that Duncan, along with other physicians, had attended at the exorcism of the possessed nuns.³ The publica-

¹ *Histoire des Diables de Loudun*. Amst. 1693, 12mo. Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Guillaume Menage*, p. 339. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 1297. "J'ay vu deux livres," says Menage, "qui furent faits en ce tans-là contre cette prétendue possession; l'un par Duncan, Ecossois, célèbre médecin de Saumur, et père du fameux Cerizante, résident en France de la part de la reine de Suède; et l'autre par Jâque Boutreux, St: d'Etiau, homme docte de la ville d'Angers." See likewise the *Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. 254. Duncan's name is frequently mentioned in the anonymous *Histoire des Diables de Loudun*, which, as Barbier states, was written by Aubin, a French refugee. (*Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, tom. ii. p. 106.)

² *Discovrs de la Possession des Religieuses Vrsulines de Lodun*. M.DC.XXXIV. 8vo. Pp. 64.

³ "La premiere fois que ie fus present aux exorcismes, Monsieur de Poitiers et l'exorciste ayans adiuré le diable Gresil, qu'on disoit estre dans le corps de la mere superieure, de dire le nom du Sieur

tion of this little work would have exposed him to the vengeance of Laubardemont, if he had not been indebted to the protection of Madame la Maréchale de Brezé, by whom he was greatly esteemed as a physician. Her husband was governor of the province.

Duncan survived till the year 1640 ; and, according to the statement of his second son, his death was alike regretted by catholics and protestants. From the same domestic authority we learn that he was a man of great probity, and of an exemplary life. He had three sons and three daughters. After the French fashion, his sons assumed the names of Cerisantes, Sainte Helene, and Montfort. All these were unsubstantial appellations ; or, in other words, their only territorial possessions were castles in the air. The eldest son, Mark Duncan, distinguished himself as a scholar by the elegance of his Latin verses,¹ and as a soldier by his well-trying courage. He likewise rose to some eminence as a diplomatist. In 1641 he was despatched as an envoy to Constantinople ; and having afterwards entered into the service of the queen of Sweden, he in 1645 succeeded Grotius as her resident ambassador at the court of France. His first appearance at Paris was only in the capacity of an agent. His illustrious precursor had experienced many discouragements in the course of his negotiations ; and the arrival of M. de Cerisantes, of whom he entertained a very unfavourable opinion, seems to have

Duncan, medecin de Saumur, la dicte superieure avec son Gresil se trompa deux fois." (P. 28.)

¹ "Parmy les lyriques Latins des derniers siecles j'en trouve trois qui se sont distinguez des autres ; Casimire Sarbieuski Polonois, Duncan de Cerisantes, et Magdelenet, tous deux François. Sarbieuski a de l'élévation, mais sans pureté : Magdelenet est pur, mais sans élévation : Cerisantes a joint dans ses odes l'un et l'autre, car il écrit noblement, et d'un style assez pur." (Rapin, *Reflexions sur la Poétique*, p. 208.)

confirmed his wish to retire.¹ This individual was possessed of no mean talents, but his ambition was greater than his talents ; and a certain levity of disposition rendered his eminent endowments of less avail. Having quitted the queen's service, he renounced the protestant faith, as a preparation, there is too much reason to surmise, for obtaining preferment under a popish sovereign. In this view he succeeded so far as to be employed by the French king to observe the conduct of the duke of Guise, during his expedition to Naples. In a general attack on the Spanish posts, he was wounded in the ankle by a musket-ball, and died on the 28th or 29th of February 1648.²

¹ Burigny, *Vie de Grotius*, tom. ii. p. 63, edit. Amst. 1754, 2 tom. 12mo. Du Maurier, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande, et des autres Provinces Unies*, p. 424. Paris, 1680, 8vo.

² Moreri, *Dictionnaire Historique*, tom. iii. p. 404, edit. 1759. In the work published under the title of "*Les Mémoires de feu Monsieur le Duc de Guise*," Cerisantes is very injuriously treated. His memory was zealously vindicated by his brother M. de Sainte Helene, in a manuscript apology communicated to Bayle, who has extracted various passages (*Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 825.)

WALTER DONALDSON.

WALTER DONALDSON, a learned writer of the seventeenth century, was a native of Aberdeen, but the period of his birth has not been ascertained. We may suppose him to have been born about the year 1575. His father was Alexander Donaldson, who is described as an esquire, his mother was Elizabeth the daughter of David Lamb of Dunkenny.¹ In his youth, as he himself informs us, he attended David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Peter Young, during their embassy to the king of Denmark and to some of the princes of Germany. This was probably in the year 1594, when Young was sent to announce the birth of the king's eldest son, Henry afterwards prince of Wales.² Donaldson returned to Scotland, but after a short residence he again visited the continent; and he now prosecuted his studies in the university of Heidelberg, where the civil law was ably taught by the elder Gothofredus. It was perhaps in this university that he took the degree of LL. D.³

¹ *Litera Prosapiae Alexandri Donaldson, Medicinæ Doctoris*, dated at Edinburgh 15 November 1642. This is the son of Walter Donaldson. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6 26. p. 21. According to this account, one of his ancestors was Elizabeth Hay, daughter of George earl of Errol.

² Melville's *Memoirs of his own Life*, p. 410. Edinb. 1827, 4to.

³ In the attested pedigree already quoted, we find mention made "Walteri Donaldson, Armigeri, Utriusque Juris Doctoris, apud Rup-

While he resided at Heidelberg, he appears to have taken private pupils; for he mentions that he there read to some students a synopsis of ethics, which a young man named Werner Becker, a native of Riga, published without his consent or knowledge. This work, which was reprinted in Britain as well as in Germany, bears the title of "*Synopsis Moralis Philosophiae, III. libris.*" *Ex officina Paltheniorum*, 1604, 8vo. He likewise complains that Keckermann had too unscrupulously availed himself of his labours, and he specifies a curious instance of this plagiarism.

Donaldson afterwards settled in France, where he was appointed principal of the university of Sedan, and at the same time discharged the duties of professor of moral and natural philosophy, and of the Greek language; so that his attainments must have been various, and his labours not inconsiderable. In this protestant seminary he was associated with two of his learned countrymen: Andrew Melville was one of the professors of divinity, and John Smith was one of the professors of philosophy.¹ His next publication, a systematic arrangement, in Greek and Latin, of passages extracted from Diogenes Laertius, is entitled "*Synopsis Locorum Communium, in qua Philosophiae Ortus, Progressus, &c. ex Diogene Laërtio digeruntur.*" *Francof.* 1612, 8vo. The same work appeared under a different title: "*Electa Laërtiana: in quibus e Vitis Philosophorum Diogenis Laërtii totius Philosophiae Ortus,*

pellam in Gallia." The words "*apud Ruppellam*" must refer to his place of residence; and after his disappointment at Charenton, it is not improbable that he settled at Rochelle. A college, including a principal and four regents, was established there in the year 1561; but it did not obtain the privileges of a university, and had no law faculty, and no professor of law. (*Expilly, Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Politique des Gaules et de la France*, tom. vi, p. 354.) It is therefore evident that Donaldson could not have taken his degree at Rochelle.

¹ Maccrie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 420.

Progressus, variaeque de singulis Sententiae, in Locos Communes methodice digeruntur. Authore G. Donaldsono, Scoto-Britanno." Francofurti ad Moenum 1625, 8vo. This volume extends to nearly seven hundred pages. The general plan of such a work, as he states in the preface, had been suggested to him by Gothofredus.

At Sedan he continued to reside for the space of sixteen years, and was then invited to open a college at Charenton, near Paris; but the attempt was immediately resisted, and it seems to have been ultimately frustrated by the jealousy of the papists. In order to occupy himself during the dependence of the legal process, he prepared for the press another learned work: "*Synopsis Oeconomica, authore G. Donaldsono Scoto-Britanno, Abredonensi, J. C. ad celissimum Carolum, Walliae Principem.*" Paris. 1620, 8vo. It was reprinted at Rostock, 1624, 8vo. And another edition speedily followed, Francofurti, 1625, 8vo. Bayle considered this as a book which deserved to be read.¹

With respect to the subsequent history of the author, I have not been able to collect any information; but I am led to conjecture that he may have ended his days at Rochelle. Elizabeth Goffin, describing herself as the widow of Donaldson, addressed to Sir John Scot a letter dated at Sedan on the 15th of April 1630.² From this letter it appears that he left several children.

¹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 1013.

² *Epistolae doctorum Virorum ad Jo. Scotum*, p. 227. MS. in Adv. Bib. From this letter, which is somewhat mutilated, it appears that Scot had befriended the family. It alludes to a remittance of money, to which the family must have had a legal claim, as she speaks of an acquittance signed by herself and her children. In the pedigree, she is described as the legitimate daughter "*Joannis Goffan de Mostancells prope seden, et Joan. de Hen.*" For *seden*, we must apparently read *Sedanum*. The entire transcript, which is in the hand-writing of Robert Myln, is far from being accurate. In the preceding line, Donaldson's wife is called Hoffman. Her real name appears to have been Goffin.

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

DAVID CALDERWOOD, an industrious historian of the church of Scotland, and a strenuous defender of its discipline, was born in the year 1575. He is supposed to have been a gentleman by birth, but his early history is not very accurately known. He was educated in the university of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of A. M. in the year 1593; and having been early destined for the church, he devoted much attention to the requisite studies, and acquired a large fund of theological learning. Soon after the commencement of the ensuing century, he became minister of Crailing near Jedburgh, and he speedily began to take a very conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical proceedings of that period.

The king, who seems to have considered prelacy as a convenient instrument of arbitrary power, was extremely anxious to assimilate the church of Scotland to the church of England. Having succeeded in obtruding episcopacy, which was a very unwelcome guest, it was the next object of his solicitude to enlarge the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops; and regarding the end as highly desirable, he was not extremely scrupulous as to the means. His schemes were however opposed by many of the clergy, and were not relished by the great body of the people; nor was any individual more resolute or more consistent in his opposition than Calderwood, who spent the best years of his life in contending for purity of doctrine and simplicity of discipline.

In the year 1608, when Law, bishop of Orkney, made his appearance in the capacity of visitor of the presbytery of Jedburgh, Calderwood, together with George Johnston, minister of Ancram, took a formal protest against his authority, and drew up a declinature, divided into various heads. Dr Abernethy, minister of Jedburgh, professed at first to support them in their opposition ; but his zeal having very speedily abated, he was appointed perpetual moderator of the presbytery, and in due time became bishop of Caithness. Calderwood and Johnston had been elected members of the general assembly ; but in order to exclude them from this and other ecclesiastical courts, the visitor ordered them to be “ put to the horn ” the very same night. The registration of the writ in the sheriff’s books was with great difficulty prevented ; but in consequence of Bishop Law’s information, the king directed the privy council to punish them in an exemplary manner. By the intercession of the earl of Lothian with the chancellor and the earl of Dunbar, their punishment was restricted to confinement within the limits of their respective parishes.¹

With the benefit of episcopacy the king imparted to his native country the benefit of a Court of High Commission ; an illegal and despotic tribunal, which, though not vested with such terrific powers, bore some resemblance to the Spanish inquisition. The English court was erected in the reign of Elizabeth, and was intended to maintain the dignity and peace of the church, by reforming, ordering, and correcting the ecclesiastical state and persons, and all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities : but it is admitted by a writer who commonly touches despotism with a very gentle hand, that under the shelter of these general expressions, “ means were found in that and the two succeeding reigns, to vest in the high commissioners extraordinary and almost des-

¹ Calderwood’s Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 578, 599.

potic powers, of fining and imprisoning ; which they exerted much beyond the degree of the offence itself, and frequently over offences by no means of spiritual cognizance."¹ This court was erected by virtue of an act of parliament ; but, in 1610, James, of his sovereign authority, issued, under the great seal of Scotland, a commission for erecting a similar court in each of the two archbishoprics of St Andrews and Glasgow. It is very justly observed by Calderwood, who did not entirely escape the fangs of this new instrument of persecution, that "this commission put the king in possession of that which he had long time hunted for ; to wit, of absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at pleasure, without form or processe of the common law."²

James paid a visit to Scotland in the year 1617. During the sitting of the parliament, which assembled on the 17th of June, the clergy held several meetings in the Little Church, one or more of the bishops being always present. Calderwood, whose zeal was never dormant, repaired to the church in order to learn the nature of their deliberations ; and on hearing Knox, bishop of the Isles, make some allusion to the English convocation, he protested that such a meeting should not be acknowledged as a general assembly, or any other meeting equivalent to it, "or any wayes answerable to the English convocation-house, where the clergie convened in time of their parliaments." It is by no means improbable that such an innovation was secretly contemplated. Their chief consultations related to the temporal emoluments of the clergy, and he attempted to direct their attention to matters of

¹ Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. iii. p. 68. "What is this," says Calderwood, "but the Spanish inquisition ? Set me up this throne, Satan shall set up papistry, or any other religion whatsoever, in short processe of time." (*Altar of Damascus*, p. 39.)

² Calderwood's Hist. p. 619.

greater importance than the augmentation of stipends, evidently alluding to what he conceived to be the danger of the church from foreign ceremonies and observances. He was assured that no alteration was to be apprehended, and that the bishops had given such a promise. Of their fidelity in keeping their promises, said the inflexible presbyter, we have had sufficient proofs for the last sixteen years; and he was proceeding to enlarge on some kindred topics, when he was interrupted by Dr Whitford and Dr Hamilton, who reverted to the more interesting subject of stipends. Finding that they were not disposed to listen to his suggestions, he left the meeting with this expression of his indignation: "It is absurd to see men sitting in silks and sattins, and to cry povertie in the kirk, when paritie is departing."

The two archbishops, on being informed of what had taken place, attended the meeting next day, and solemnly declared that no innovations were intended: but this declaration was so much at variance with unequivocal facts, that many of the clergy felt no small degree of alarm; and a considerable number of them having assembled in the music-school, resolved upon drawing up a remonstrance to his majesty. Two of the Edinburgh clergy, Hewat and Struthers, were appointed to prepare it; and when it was finally adjusted, Archibald Simson, minister of Dalkeith, was directed to sign it as clerk of the meeting; but the names of all those who attended were subscribed in a separate paper, which was delivered to him as a voucher to be used according to circumstances. He presented a copy to the clerk register, who refused to read it in parliament; and having been summoned before the High Commission, he declined to produce the signatures, and was committed as a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. This paper he had entrusted to the master of the music-school, Patrick Henryson, who delivered it to Calderwood. The minister of Crailing was therefore cited to appear at St

Andrews on the eighth of July, and there to exhibit the roll of names, and "to answer for his mutinous and seditious assistance to the said assembly." Hewat and Simson were summoned at the same time, and they all made their appearance; but their examination was deferred till the twelfth, in order that it might take place in his majesty's presence. James conducted himself in his usual manner, but the stern and undaunted Calderwood was not to be overawed by any earthly authority which he conceived to be unjustly exercised. The king having at length whispered in the primate's ear, "his majesty," he stated, "saith that if ye will not be content to be suspended spiritually, ye shall be suspended corporally." Undismayed by this declaration, he replied, "Sir, my body is in your majesty's hands to do with it as it pleaseth your majesty; but as long as my body is free, I will teach, notwithstanding their sentence." Spotswood describes him as "carrying himself unreverently, and breaking forth into speeches not becoming a subject;"¹ nor is it difficult to conceive that the archbishop of St Andrews and the minister of Crailing may have formed a very different estimate of the speeches which became a subject placed in such circumstances.

Hewat, adhering to the protestation, was deprived, and confined in the town of Dundee; but as he had obtained a grant of the temporalities of Crossragwell abbey, he was not left without a provision. Simson, who had aggravated the original offence by writing a letter in which he disparaged the English bishops, likewise received sentence of deprivation, and was for several months detained in prison; but on making his submission, he was at length reinstated. A similar sentence was pronounced on Calderwood, who was committed to prison at St Andrews, and was afterwards removed to Edinburgh. The privy council, which long exercised an undefined and despotic jurisdiction,

¹ Spotswood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 534.

ordained him to be banished from the kingdom for refusing to acknowledge the sentence of the High Commission ; and the whole proceedings in this case exhibit a curious example of the arbitrary and iniquitous administration of that period. On giving security to banish himself from the kingdom before the ensuing Michaelmas, and not to return without the royal license, he was released from prison.

He accompanied Lord Cranstoun to Carlisle, where that nobleman presented to the king a petition in his favour ; but although the suit appears to have been very zealously urged, it was followed by no beneficial result. The king inveighed against Calderwood, and at last repelled the noble baron with his elbow. The application was however renewed after an interval of two hours : his lordship entreated him to permit the petitioner to remain in Scotland till the last day of April, on account of the danger of a winter voyage, and in order to receive his stipend for the current year ; but his majesty was graciously pleased to declare, that it was no matter if he begged his bread, and "as for the season of the year, if he drowned in the seas, he might thank God that he hath escaped a worse death : " a princely answer, and full of Christian comfort ! The subsequent application of Lord Cranstoun to the privy council, and to the bishops, was attended with no better success ; and if they had been more inclined to lenient measures, the unbending spirit of Calderwood, who would neither make an unqualified confession of his supposed errors of conduct, nor promise strict obedience to the new regulations in the church, left very little room to hope for the remission of his sentence.

He continued for a considerable time to linger in his native country ; and during this interval he began the publication of his anonymous works in support of the presbyterian cause. In the year 1618 he printed a Latin tract on the polity of the church of Scotland. The general assembly, which met at Perth on the 25th of August, gave a

new impulse to his mind ; and in 1619 he produced an English work, in which he undertook to demonstrate the nullity of the assembly itself, and the unlawfulness of its five articles, relative to kneeling at the communion, the observance of festivals, confirmation, private baptism, and private communion. They who hazarded the peace of the church and kingdom by such innovations as these, had not sufficiently reflected on all the consequences which ensued ; nor are we disposed to blame the faithful presbyters for their very strenuous opposition to the articles of Perth. Kneeling at the communion, for example, may in itself be a very harmless ceremony : but this was not the position of the apostles when our Saviour instituted the sacred rite ; and such a position was considered by many of our ancestors as too much connected with the adoration of the host, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. " Not to kneel," says Locke, " at the Lord's supper, God not having ordained it, is not a sin ; and the apostles receiving it in the posture of sitting or lying, which was then used at meat, is an evidence it may be received not kneeling. But to him that thinks kneeling is unlawful, it is certainly a sin."¹

While Calderwood was still lurking in Scotland, an attempt was made to apprehend him at Edinburgh in the house of James Cathkin, a bookseller ; but the officers neither found him nor any copies of his obnoxious publication relative to the Perth Assembly. Cathkin visited London in the prosecution of his business ; and being immediately taken into custody, he underwent two examinations, one of them in presence of his majesty, who was moved with violent indignation.² His alleged offence was that of being concerned in printing or publishing the book, and receiving the author into his house. In reference to the

¹ Locke's Letters concerning Toleration, p. 239.

² Of his examination Cathkin has given a curious account, printed in the Baunatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 199. Edinb. 1827, 4to.

people of Edinburgh, whom he had not found sufficiently submissive to the royal will, James uttered the following paternal wish: "The Devill ryve ther soules and bodies all in collops, and cast them in hell!" The worthy bookseller, who conducted himself with manly firmness, was released from prison after having been detained for eight days. Calderwood was in the mean time concealed at Cranstoun, in a secret apartment allotted to him by Lady Cranstoun, who rendered him many services. He afterwards removed from one place to another, till the 27th of August 1619, when he embarked at Newhaven, and sailed for Holland, "with his purse well filled by the wives of Edinburgh."¹ Where he chiefly resided in that country, we are not informed; but Bishop Guthry states, "in the time of his exile he had seen the wild follies of the English Brownists in Arnheim and Amsterdam."² We likewise find that he visited Leyden, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Campvere. His exile may have been attended with some advantages, by enabling him to extend his acquaintance with men of learning, and to collect books in his own department of study. His controversial ardour was still unabated: during his residence in Holland he published various works, and, among the rest, his *Altar of Damascus*.

At one period, his enemies supposed him to be dead; and he has recorded a very extraordinary attempt to impose upon the world a recantation fabricated in his name.³

¹ Calderwood's Hist. p. 750. He imputes this expression to the archbishop of St Andrews.

² Memoirs of Henry Guthry, late bishop of Dunkeld, p. 78, edit. Glasg. 1748, 12mo.

³ Calderwoods Recantation: or, a tripartite Discourse, directed to such of the Ministerie, and others in Scotland, that refusé Conformitie to the Ordinances of the Church; wherein the Causes and bad Effects of such Separation, the legall Proceedings against the refractarie, and Nullitie of their Cause, are softly launced, and they

"Patrick Scot, a landed gentleman beside Falkland, having wasted his patrimonie, had no other meane to recover his estate, but by some unlawful shift at court. He set forth a recantation under the name of a banished minister, Mr David Calderwood, who, because of his long sickness before, was supposed by many to have been dead. The king, as he alledged himself to some of his friends, furnished him the matter, and he set the matter down in forme. This course failing, he went over to Holland, and sought the said Mr David in sundrie townes, specially in Amsterdam, in the moneth of November. It appeareth his purpose was to dispatch the said Mr David. After he had stayed at Amsterdam 20 dayes, and made diligent inquirie, he was informed that the said Mr David was returned home privately to his own native countrey. How he cused a distressed Englishman after his returning, I passe by. After the death of King James, he set out a pamphlet full of lies, entituled *Vox Vera*, but as true as Lucian's *Vera Historia*. Notwithstanding of all his godless and unlawful shifts, he died soon after so poore that he had not wherewith to bear the charges of his burial; but it behoved the bishop of Ross, being then present where he departed, to bear the charges, for the good service he had done to the king and the bishops."¹

lously invited to the Vniformitie of the Chvrch. Lond. 1622, 4to.

¹ Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 802. See likewise Calderwood's MS. vol. xv. p. 1209. In a paper written for the information of the king, and entitled "The Accompt of my Diligens in the Seruice committed to mee," Scott has detailed the particulars of this secret mission to Holland. According to his own account, it was his object to obtain the authority of the States for securing Calderwood's person. (Letters and State Papers during the Reign of King James the Sixth, chiefly from the manuscript collections of Sir James Balfour, p. 385. Edinb. 1838, 4to.) Re-

From the date of this narrative, Calderwood appears to have returned to Scotland in the year 1624. He was still found to be the most redoubtable champion of presbytery ; and after the abolition of episcopacy, he was appointed minister of Pencaitland, in the county of Haddington, but the date of this appointment has not been ascertained. The following statement proceeds from an episcopalian writer: "David Calderwood, a man of great reading and study, but very unhappy in his way of expressing himself, both which appeared in his *Altare Damascenum*. He was at first very factious, and banished the kingdom by King James, yet was afterwards much neglected by that violent party, who judged him too moderate, though, from his book, none would imagine him guilty of it."¹ Baillie, in relating the proceedings of the general assembly in 1641, remarks, "it was regretted by the moderator that Mr David Catherwood, who deserved so well of our church, was so long neglected. He was recommended to the first commodious room. Likely he shall not be in haste provided. The man is sixty-six years old ; his utterance is unpleasant ; his carriage about the meetings of this assembly and before, has made him less considerable to divers of his former benefactors."² Though not a member, he had repeatedly spoken with too much pertinacity. Henderson the moderator treated him with great forbearance, but at length the commissioner commanded him to be silent. In 1643 the assembly appointed Henderson, Calderwood, and Dickson, to prepare a directory for public worship.

During the remainder of his life, he continued to take an active part in the affairs of the church ; and as firmness

lative to the same mission, there is a letter addressed to the king by Sir Dudley Carleton, on the 23d of October 1624. (*Maidment's Analecta Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 343.)

¹ Middleton's Appendix to Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 20.

² Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 311.

may be nearly allied to obstinacy, he appears to have maintained his own opinions with habitual keenness. It was he that introduced the practice, which is now confirmed by long usage, of dissenting from the decision of the assembly, and requiring the protest to be entered in the record. In 1649, an act having been introduced respecting the election of ministers, he proposed that the right of electing should be vested in the presbytery, leaving to the people the power of declaring their dissent, upon reasons of which it should be competent for the presbytery to judge; but this suggestion was not adopted, and, according to Baillie's statement, "Calderwood entered a very sharp protestation against our act, which he required to be registered. This is the first protestation we heard of in our time; and had it come from any other, it had not escaped censure."¹

He devoted many years to the preparation of a history of the church of Scotland. In 1648 the general assembly urged him to complete the design, and voted him a yearly pension of eight hundred pounds.² He left behind him an historical work of great extent, and of great value, not indeed as a masterly composition, but as a storehouse of authentic materials for history.³ The laborious author has incorporated many original documents which are not otherwise preserved, and has recorded an immense multiplicity of facts, which illustrate the civil as well as the ecclesiastical annals of the period to which his work relates. An

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. p. 340.

² Baillie, vol. ii. p. 307.

³ "Keith," says Lord Hailes, "was as incapable of deceiving as he was of judging. I can make no better excuse for this useful labourer in the history of Scotland. When I say more for Calderwood and Wodrow, let me be termed partial and prejudiced." (*Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*, p. 29. Edinb. 1769, 4to.) It must however be admitted that Calderwood was greatly superior to Keith and Wodrow, not only in learning, but also in acuteness.

abridgement, which appears to have been prepared by himself,¹ was published after his death ; but it is much to be regretted that his great work still remains in manuscript. Proposals for printing it were issued many years ago, but the plan did not meet with adequate encouragement ; and, unless a similar plan should be adopted by the Bannatyne Club, we despair of seeing it carried into execution. The author's manuscript, which lately belonged to General Calderwood Durham, has been presented to the British Museum. A copy, transcribed under the inspection of Wodrow, is among the archives of the church ; another belongs to the library of the university of Glasgow ; and, as Dr Maccrie has stated, "in the Advocates Library, besides a complete copy of that work, there is a folio volume of it, reaching to the end of the year 1572. It was written in 1634, and has a number of interlineations and marginal alterations, differing from the other copies, which, if not made by the author's own hand, were most probably done under his eye."²

Calderwood died at Jedburgh on the 29th of October 1650,³ at the age of seventy-five. He appears to have been a man of unbending integrity, fearless in maintaining his opinions, and uniformly consistent in his professions ; but as human virtues are never perfect, his decision of character had some tendency to deviate into that obstinacy of humour from which good men are not always exempted. With his honesty and piety he united no small por-

¹ See Dr Maccrie's Appendix to the Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p. 495, 501.

² Maccrie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. vi.—Some of his papers are preserved among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates Library. Two original letters from John Paget to Calderwood occur in M. 6. 9. No. 107-8.

³ Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 205. Baillie, in a passage already quoted, mentions that Calderwood was sixty-six years old in 1641.

tion of acuteness and learning. He was conversant with the fathers, schoolmen, and canonists, as well as the more recent theologians; and the shrewdness of his understanding enabled him to apply his learning with due effect.

His works are numerous; and as they were almost all published without the author's name, it is not easy to form a complete and accurate catalogue. The place of printing is omitted in all the original editions, but several, if not most of them, appear to have been printed in Holland. The following is a list of publications which I believe may be safely ascribed to Calderwood.

1. *De Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanæ brevis Relatio.* 1618, 8vo.—To this tract an answer was published by Archbishop Spotswood, under the title of "*Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanæ.*" Lond. 1620, 8vo. Calderwood replied in the *Vindiciæ* subjoined to his *Altare Damascenum*.

2. *A Solvion of Doctor Resolvtvs his Resolutions for Kneeling.* 1619, 4to. This is an answer to a book written by David Lindsay, D. D. who became bishop of Brechin, and afterwards of Edinburgh: "The Reasons of a Pastors Resolution, touching the reuerend Receiuing of the holy Commvniion." Lond. 1619, 8vo.

3. *Perth Assembly*: containing, 1. The Proceedings thereof. 2. The Proofoe of the Nullitie thereof. 3. Reasons presented thereto against the receiving the five new Articles imposed. 4. The Oppositenesse of it to the Proceedings and Oath of the whole state of the Land, *an.* 1581. 5. Proofes of the Unlawfulnesse of the said five Articles, viz. 1. Kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Lords Supper. 2. Holy Daies. 3. Bishopping. 4. Private Baptisme. 5. Private Communion. 1619, 4to.—This publication was followed by "A true Narration of all the Passages of the Proceedings in the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25 of August *anno Dom.* 1618: wherein is set downe the copy of his Maies-

ties Letters to the said Assembly ; together with a iust Defence of the Articles therein concluded, against a seditious Pamphlet. By Dr Lyndesay, Bishop of Brechen." Lond. 1621, 4to.

4. A Defence of our Arguments against Kneeling in the act of Receiving the sacramentall Elements of Bread and Wine, impugned by Mr Michelsone. 1620, 8vo. 1638, 8vo.—This is an answer to a book entitled, " The Lawfulness of Kneeling in the act of Receiuing the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. Written by M. Iohn Michaelson, Preacher of Gods Word at Byrnt-Yland." Saint Andrewes, 1620, 8vo. In his preface, Calderwood remarks of his antagonist, " he hath given so notable prooffe of profound knowledge in divinitie, and subtiltie in handling this controversie in this worthie work of his, that the bishop of St Andros (a man as voyd of learning as of good manners) hath made him a doctor." This is not a very decent manner of treating Spotswood, who was neither destitute of talents nor of learning.

5. A Dialogve betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus, anent the urging of new Ceremonies upon the Kirke of Scotland. 1620, 8vo.

6. The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved Children. 1620, 8vo.

7. Quaeres concerning the State of the Chvrch of Scotland. 1621, 8vo. 1638, 8vo.

8. The Altar of Damascus ; or the Patern of the English Hierarchie and Church-Policie obtruded upon the Church of Scotland. 1621, 8vo.

9. The Course of Conformitie, as it hath proceeded, is concluded, should be refused. 1622, 4to.

10. A Reply to Dr Mortons generall Defence of three nocent Ceremonies ; viz. the Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, and Kneeling at the receiving of the sacramentall Elements of Bread and Wine. 1622, 4to.

11. A Reply to Dr Morton's particvlar Defence of three

nocent Ceremonies ; viz. the Surplice, &c. 1623, 4to.—Dr Morton, who was successively bishop of Chester, Lichfield, and Durham, had published “ A Defence of the Innocencie of the three Ceremonies of the Chvrch of England ; viz. the Surplice, Crosse after Baptisme, and Kneeling at the Receiuing of the blessed Sacrament.” Lond. 1619, 4to. This is the second impression. On the same controversy, various other works were produced ; and the bishop found a very formidable antagonist in Dr Ames.

12. *Altare Damascenum ; seu Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae obtrusa Ecclesiae Scoticae*, a formalista quodam delineata, illustrata et examinata studio et opera Edwardi Didoclavii. Cui locis suis inserta Confutatio Paraeneseos Tileni ad Scotos, Genevensis, ut ait, *Disciplinae Zelotas ; et adjecta Epistola Hieronymi Philadelphi de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae ; ejusque Vindiciae contra Calumnias Johannis Spotsuodi, Fani Andreae Pseudoarchiepiscopi, per anonymum.* 1623, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1708, 4to.—The application of the title may be learned from 2 Kings, xvi. 10. “ And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglathpileser, king of Assyria, and saw an altar that was at Damascus ; and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest, the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it, according to all the workmanship thereof. And Urijah the priest built an altar according to all that king Ahaz had sent from Damascus.” This work of Calderwood, which is an enlargement of his English *Altar of Damascus*, contains a most formidable attack on the polity of the church of England ; and, as Mr Peirce remarks, “ the patrons of episcopacy have never yet answer’d it, how much soever their cause requires it.”¹ A late writer, by some unaccountable inadvertency,

¹ Peirce’s *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 176, second edition. Lond. 1718, 8vo. Dr Duport, professor of Greek in the university of Cambridge, wrote an epigram on Calderwood’s *Altare Damascenum*, but his satire is not very formidable. (*Musae Subsecivae, seu Poetica Stromata*, p. 149. Cantab. 1676, 8vo.)

has stated that "this book is a refutation of Linwood's Description of the Policy of the Church of England." William Lyndewode, an eminent canonist who became bishop of St David's, could certainly write no book about the protestant church of England, inasmuch as he died in 1446, nearly a century before the reformation. He is the compiler of a well-known work, entitled *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliae*, to which Calderwood frequently refers, among many other juridical and theological authorities. One of the books which he undertakes to refute bears the title of "Paraenesis ad Scotos, Genevensis Disciplinae Zelotas, autore Dan. Tileno Silesio." Lond. 1620, 8vo. Another able refutation was written by Sir James Semple: "Scoti τοῦ τυχόντος Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Paraenesis ad Scotos, Genevensis Disciplinae Zelotas, conscriptam: cujus prima pars est de Episcopali Ecclesiae Regimine." Anno 1622, 4to. This work has frequently been ascribed to Andrew Melville.

13. An Exhortation of the particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their sister Kirk in Edinburgh. 1624, 8vo.

14. An Epistle of a Christian Brother, exhorting an other to keepe himselfe vndefiled from the present Corruptions brought in to the Ministration of the Lords Supper. 1624, 8vo.

15. A Dispyte vpon Commvnicating at ovr confused Communions. 1624, 8vo.

16. The Pastor and the Prelate; or Reformation and Conformitie shortly compared by the Word of God, by Antiquity and the Proceedings of the ancient Kirk, &c. 1628, 4to.

17. A Re-examination of the five Articles enacted at Perth anno 1618; to wit, concerning the Communicants Gesture in the act of Receaving, the Observation of Festivall Dayes, episcopall Confirmation or Bishopping, the Administration of Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord in privat Places. 1636, 4to.

18. The Re-examination of two of the Articles abridged ; to wit, of the Communicants Gesture in the act of Receiving, Eating, and Drinking ; and the Observation of Festivall Dayes. 1636, 8vo.

19. An Answer to M. I. Forbes of Corse his Peaceable Warning. 1638, 4to.—This is an answer to a tract written by Dr Forbes, professor of divinity in King's College, Aberdeen : " A peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland ; given in the yeare of God 1638." Aberdene, 4to.

20. The true History of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, unto the end of the Reigne of King James VI. &c. 1678, fol.

GILBERT JACK.

THE name of Gilbert Jack, which was once familiarly known on the continent, is scarcely remembered in his native country. He was himself an individual of no inconsiderable reputation, and he was intimately connected with not a few of those illustrious men who adorned the literary annals of Holland during the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

He was born at Aberdeen in the year 1578. At an early age, he was deprived of his father, Andrew Jack, who is described as a very respectable man, and who was engaged in some branch of trade or commerce. His mother committed him to the tuition of Thomas Cargill, master of the grammar-school, and a celebrated grammarian. Under this instructor he made great progress in his youthful studies, and excelled all his contemporaries. Having thus laid the foundation of classical learning, he became a student in Marischal College, which was founded in the year 1593, and of which Robert Howie, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, was appointed the first principal. He had successfully prosecuted his own studies in several foreign universities ; and in pursuance of his advice, Jack had recourse to the same method of cultivating those talents of which he had given so early a promise. Having accordingly proceeded to Germany, and fixed his residence at Helmstädt, he there attended the lectures of several eminent professors, one of whom was Caselius, and another

his own countryman Duncan Liddell. From this university he removed to Herborn, where he was chiefly benefited by the instructions of Mathias Martini, and where he took the degree of A. M.

The university of Leyden, which was founded in the year 1575, had already acquired the highest distinction as a school of general learning; and after having for some time resided in Germany, he was induced to visit this new and flourishing seminary. Here he not only prosecuted his own studies, but having obtained employment as a private lecturer, he had such opportunities of displaying his talents and attainments, that in the year 1604 the curators of the university appointed him a professor of philosophy. In his capacity of a private teacher, he had attracted many students, and as a public lecturer he arrived at great celebrity. His claims to a professor's chair were very zealously enforced by Baudius, in an elegant letter addressed to Vander Myle on the 30th of December 1603.¹ Nor was Jack the only Scotchman who had occupied a similar chair at Leyden: James Ramsay and John Murdison were both professors of philosophy in that university, and they are both celebrated as men of talents.² Having found suffi-

¹ "Est autem Scotus ille, de quo saepius tecum et apud amplissimum legatum sum locutus: si meo suffragio nonnullam judicis recti auctoritatem tribuis, fidenter asseverare possum, esse virum non tantum favore bonorum omnium dignissimum, sed cujus in docendo munus huic academiae summo usui et emolumento esse possit. Non celavi hunc animi mei sensum apud Dominos Curatores, cum occasio ad eam rem tulit. Quo minus ambitiose prensat hanc provinciam, eo majorem ejus rationem habendam censeo. Valde gratus est studiosis, et floret auditorum frequentia." (Baudii Epistolae, p. 118. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1650, 12mo.)

² "Et ipsum hoc nostrum bonae mentis templum, in quo verba nunc facimus, viros praestantissimos Jacobum Ramsaeum et Murdisonium, Scotiae nationis ambos, philosophiam facundissima voce interpretantes olim audivit." (Vorstii Oratio Funebris, p. 6.) A further account of Murdison will be found in the Life of Cunningham.

cient leisure to prosecute the study of physic, he took the degree of M. D. in the year 1611; and on that occasion his very learned friend Daniel Heinsius, who was then professor of history, congratulated him in a Latin ode.¹

His *Institutiones Physicae* were published in the year 1614.² Physics he defines to be the science which teaches the perfect knowledge of natural bodies, so far as they have in themselves the principle of motion. This definition is sufficiently ample to admit a most variegated range of discussion, of which no inconsiderable part is metaphysical. The first book treats of philosophy in general, and its subdivisions, with other subjects considered as preliminary: the second treats of nature, the third of motion, the fourth of time, the fifth of the heavens, the sixth of mixed body, "De Corpore misto," the seventh of meteors, the eighth of the soul, and the ninth of the rational soul. The last three chapters relate to the will, to the mode in which the will moves the other powers, and to the freedom of the will.

Jack was the first who taught metaphysics at Leyden,

¹ Heinsii *Poemata*, p. 250. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1621, 16to.

² *Institutiones Physicae*, *Juventutis Lugdunensis studiis potissimum dicatae*, authore Gilberto Iacchaeo. Lugd. Bat. 1614, 8vo. This edition is dedicated to the curators of the university, and to the magistrates of the city. The second edition exhibits the following title: "Gilberti Iacchaei *Institutiones Physicae*, ad virum magnificentissimum et illustrem Jacobum van Dyck, potentissimi Suecorum Regis Legatum, &c. Secundae huic editioni accesserunt notae, quibus textus variis in locis illustratur." Lugd. Bat. 1615, 8vo. The title is followed by an epistle dedicatory to this ambassador. The first edition contains a commendatory poem in Greek, by Heinsius; but to this are added, in the second edition, two Latin poems by Barlaeus and Th. Schrevelius. (Heinsii *Poemata*, p. 344. Barlaei *Poemata*, part. ii. p. 127.) The third edition appeared under the title of "Gilberti Iacchaei *Institutiones Physicae*. Editio nova, auctior et emendatior." Lugd. Bat. 1624, 8vo. This edition is inscribed "Viro clariss. D. Mathiae Overbequo."

and in this department he acquired no small celebrity. Bayle mentions him as one of the most subtle Peripatetics of the age to which he belonged.¹ The ingenuity of his students was much exercised, how profitably we need not enquire, in discussing the question of substantial forms, that is, forms distinct from matter, and yet themselves material. At the suggestion of Grotius, whom he numbered among his friends, he prepared a compendious work on the subject of metaphysics. This he published in the year 1616, with a dedication to the States General.² The book is written, in some measure unavoidably, in a style sufficiently scholastic. His arrangement essentially coincides with that of Dr Hutcheson and other modern writers, who class metaphysics under the two general heads of ontology and pneumatology. The author evinces a large share of metaphysical acumen; but at present the only value of his work consists in shewing how subjects of this nature were formerly treated in the best seminaries of learning.

He afterwards directed his attention to another department of science, and in the year 1624 produced his *Institutiones Medicae*.³ This work, which is divided into six books, likewise met with a very favourable reception.⁴

¹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 1404. art. *Heidanus*.

² *Primae Philosophiae Institutiones*, auctore Gilberto Iacchaeo. Lugd. Bat. 1616, 8vo. The running title is *Institutiones Metaphysicae*. Prefixed is a panegyric poem by Barlaeus, which is reprinted in Casparis Barlaei *Poemata*, editio v. part. ii. p. 128. Amst. 1655, 2 part. 12mo. Another edition of Jack's work appeared after a considerable interval: "*Primae Philosophiae, sive Institutionum Metaphysicarum, libri sex, auctore Gilberto Jacchaeo. Editio postrema, priore correctior.*" Lugd. Bat. 1640, 12mo.

³ A posthumous edition appeared under this title: "*Gilberti Jacchaei Institutiones Medicae. Editio postrema, ab auctore recognita.*" Lugd. Bat. 1631, 12mo. It contains commendatory poems by Vossius, Scriverius, and A. P.

⁴ "Si Gilberti Jacchaei propensum ad eandem explodendam et

Jack seems to have possessed peculiar talents for exhibiting the principles of science in a clear and comprehensive form ; and so high was his reputation in the university, that we may suppose him to have displayed in the chair a degree of force and eloquence far above the standard recognized in his printed works. His elocution was recommended by the gracefulness of his action. It is recorded as one proof of his reputation, that he was invited to accept of a professorship of history at Cambridge. This offer he however declined, being unwilling, as may be inferred, to relinquish the learned society of Leyden, where he was held in so much estimation, and where he spent the best years of his life.¹

The history of this professorship is somewhat curious, and the sequel amply evinced the soundness of Jack's decision in preferring Leyden to Cambridge. Of the pitiful despotism of the English government at that period, we find a characteristic account in a letter, dated at Cambridge on the 16th of May 1628, and addressed to Archbishop Usher by Dr Ward, master of Sidney College, and Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. "I suppose you have heard of a lecture for reading of history, intended to be given us by the Lord Brook ; who, as you know, first intended to have had Mr. Vossius of Leyden ; afterward, his stipend being augmented by the States, he resolved of Dr

Galenicam amplificandam genium inspiciamus, vere solum Batavum nulli cedere praecellentium feracitate virorum, fateamur necesse est." (*Imperialis Musaeum Historicum*, p. 205.)

¹ Vorstius states that he was called, "non ita pridem ante obitum, ad historiarum ac civilis scientiae professionem in celeberrimam Angliae academiam, per litteras honorificentissime amplisque propositis conditionibus." He likewise mentions that the same professorship had been previously offered to Vossius ; and we learn from Dr Samuel Ward's letter that Lord Brook's first application was to that very learned and eminent man.

Dorislaw of Leyden also.¹ He, before his coming hither, took his degree of doctor of the civil law at Leyden ; was sent down to Cambridge by my Lord Brook, with his majesty's letters to the vice-chancellor and the heads, signifying my Lord Brook's intent, and also willing us to appoint him a place and time for his reading ; which accordingly was done. He read some two or three lectures, beginning with Cornelius Tacitus ; where his author mentioning the conversion of the state of Rome from government by kings to the government by consuls by the suggestion of Junius Brutus, he took occasion to discourse of the power of the people under the kings, and afterward ; when he touched upon the excesses of Tarquinius Superbus, his infringing of the liberties of the people, which they enjoyed under former kings ; and so, among many other things, descended to the vindicating of the Netherlanders for retaining their liberties against the violences of Spain. In conclusion, he was conceived of by some to speak too much for the defence of the liberties of the people ; though he spake with great moderation, and with an exception of such monarchies as ours, where the people had surrendered their right to the king, as that in truth there could be no just exception taken against him ; yet the master of Peterhouse complained to the vice-chancellor, master of Christ's College, and complaint also was made above, and it came

¹ Clarendon speaks of his "having been received into Gresham College, as a professor in one of those chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that society." (Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 297.) It is however evident that he was directly removed from Leyden to Cambridge ; and, according to Dr Ward, he never was a professor in Gresham College. (Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, p. xix. Lond. 1740, fol.) Isaac Dorislaw, or Dorislaus, took at Leyden the degree of doctor of laws, *Juris utriusque Doctor*. (Barlaei Poemata, part. ii. p. 290.) Barlaeus addresses him as

Vir docte, vir venuste, flos amicorum.

to his majesty's ear ; which we having intelligence of, Dr Dorislaw desired to come and clear himself before the heads, and carried himself so ingenuously that he gave satisfaction to all ; whereupon letters were written to his patron, to the bishop of Durham, and others, to signify so much. But he going to his patron first, he suppressed the letters, and said, he would see an accuser before any excuse should be made. After word came from the bishop of Winchester, then Durham, in his majesty's name, to prohibit the history-reader to read. But after that, both his majesty and the bishop, and all others above and here, were satisfied ; but then his patron kept off, and doth to this day, and will allow his reader the stipend for his time, but we fear we shall lose the lecture. I see a letter which his patron writ to him, to Malden, to will him to be gone into his country, but he would assure him of his stipend. The doctor kept with me, while he was in town. He married an English woman about Malden in Essex, where he now is. He is a fair-conditioned man, and a good scholar."¹ In his capacity of a civilian, Dr Dorislaw was afterwards employed as counsel for the people of England at the king's trial ; and having been sent as ambassador to the States of Holland, he was assassinated at the Hague by some of the adherents of Charles the Second.

About the same period Dr Jack received an invitation to fix his residence in Paris for the space of two years, with an annual salary of five hundred crowns, payable under the easy condition of occasionally holding philosophical conferences with a certain man of rank, whose name is not mentioned. He was not to be domesticated with this individual, who is represented as possessing little leisure for such discussions. The proposal was in 1627 conveyed to him by Grotius through his brother, and was repeatedly urged in his correspondence ; but we are left to infer that

¹ Usher's Letters, p. 393.

the learned professor did not think this a sufficient inducement to relinquish his station at Leyden.¹

These honourable invitations he did not long survive. About two months before his decease, he was attacked with apoplexy, which was followed by a paralysis more violently affecting the right side, but so general as to deprive him of the use of his limbs as well as of his tongue. The sympathy of his colleagues was deeply excited by this sad and hopeless condition of a man so highly gifted, and so much esteemed ; and three of their number, Heurnius, Vorstius, and E. Schrevelius, were anxious to administer such relief as medical skill could afford. But all human aid was unavailing ; and with some occasional and faint intervals of returning intelligence, during which he testified the pious frame of his mind, he lingered in this state of hopeless imbecility till the seventeenth day of April 1628, when he died before he had completed the fiftieth year of his age. A widow and ten children were left to bewail his loss. His funeral oration was pronounced by Vorstius, in a strain of the most affectionate regret, and with no despicable infusion of classical elegance. This oration was soon published, and was accompanied with some Latin poems, written by Heinsius, Barlaeus, Th. Schrevelius, and other two individuals.² Of the three contributed by Barlaeus, the first commences with these lines :

*Conditur hoc tumulo magni facundia Scoti,
Linguaque, sed posthac non habitura parem.*³

Vorstius represents him as a man of very elegant

¹ Grotii Epistolae, p. 798. b. 801. b. Amst. 1687, fol.

² Adolphi Vorstii, Med. Prof. Oratio Funebris in Obitu v. cl. D. Gilberti Iacchaei, Med. Doctoris, et Philosophiae Professoris eximii. Recitata fuit post ductum funus xxi. Aprilis anno CIO IOC XXVIII. Accesserunt variorum Epicedia. Lugd. Bat. 1628, 4to.

³ Barlaei Poemata, part. ii. p. 418.

manners, so affable and pleasant in his deportment that he was alike acceptable to the high and the low. From the portraits which have been preserved, he appears to have been handsome in his person.¹ Among his intimate friends his conversation was jocular and witty, but seasoned by his variegated learning. In addition to his other endowments and attainments, he possessed a sound judgment, a stupendous memory, a variety of literature, with no ordinary knowledge of history; and in him were united those qualities which excite admiration when they are separately traced in divers individuals.² His remembrance was affectionately cherished by some friends of great celebrity. Grotius, who frequently mentions him in his letters, testifies his regret at the loss of such a man.³ Cunaeus speaks of him as an incomparable person. Vossius, replying to a

¹ There is a portrait of Jack in Meursius's *Alma Academia Leidensis*, p. 213. It is evidently different from that which occurs in the same author's *Athenae Batavae*, p. 293.

² "Fuit in eo viro, praeter ea quae commemoravimus, iudicium exactum, memoria stupenda, litteratura varia, historiae non mediocri cognitio; et quae singula in pluribus seorsim admirari quisque solet, in eo venerati sumus universa, ita ut non solum ad praecipuam ejus scientiam exornandam facerent, verum nomen quoque illi exteris apud gentes conciliarent.---Morum in eo summa elegantia, ac plenus erat ea humanitate quam praecipiebat. Nec enim Epicteti illud in ipsum competeat, factis procul, verbis tenuis: cum turpissimum sit quod nobis objici plerumque solet, verba nos philosophiae, non opera tractare. Non tetricus, non squalidus, in quo praecipuum philosophi decus quidam perperam situm esse arbitrantur, sed comis et nitidus in omni vita erat, ac in sermonibus inter familiares ad sales jocosque pronior; quibus tamen ea aspergebat unde et multae lectionis et variae doctrinae esse credebatur. Maximis ob haec pariter infimisque viris gratus acceptusque fuit." (*Vorstii Oratio Funebris*, p. 10, 11.)

³ "Ego filium meum natu maximum, hunc annum patiar exigere Lugduni sub Vossii oculis. Nam Erpenium pridem, Iacchaenum nuper amissimus: caeteri sibi vivunt, mihi sunt mortui." (*Grotii Epistolae*, p. 80. b.)

letter of David Wedderburn, expresses his gratification at receiving it from a city which had given birth to Jack, his own intimate friend, and a distinguished philosopher and physician.¹

In his academical chair, Jack was succeeded by Burgersdick,² whom Dr Reid has commended as "a very acute writer in logic."³ His library, consisting of about a thousand volumes, was not sold till more than a year after his death. It contained a select collection of books, not limited to one or two, but comprehending a variety of classes, including those of theology and jurisprudence. In the department of theology we find four different copies of the Hebrew Bible. The Greek and Latin classics likewise occupy a respectable place. Of books in the French language there is a considerable number, with a smaller proportion in Italian. It is observable that the catalogue scarcely contains any Dutch, and only two English books, a folio Bible printed at Edinburgh in 1610, and the works of King James.⁴

¹ "Eoque gratiores quod non solum mitterentur ab homine eruditissimo, beneque promerenti de studiis juventutis, sed etiam ea ex urbe quae terris pariterque reipub. literariae dedit τὸν μακαρίτην Jacchaeum, philosophum ac medicum insignem, conjunctissimum, dum fata sinerent, collegam meum, et compatrem acceptissimum." (Vossii Epistolae, p. 304. Lond. 1690, fol.) The unclassical word *compater* is to be explained by the French *compère*.

² "Donec viro incomparabili Gilberto Jacchaeo jam mortuo, ethices professionem cum physices mutaret." (Cunaei Orationes, p. 232. Lugd. Bat. 1640, 8vo.)

³ Reid's Analysis of Aristotle's Logic, p. 21.

⁴ Catalogus Librorum clarissimi doctissimique viri D. Gilberti Jacchaei, Medicinae Doctoris peritissimi, et in alma Academia Lugduno-Batava, dum viveret, Philosophiae Professoris dignissimi. Quorum venditio fiet die 21. Maji in Bibliopolio Elzeviriano. Lugd. Bat. 1629, 4to.

JOHN CAMERON.

JOHN CAMERON, a theologian of great erudition, was born at Glasgow about the year 1579. His parents are described as respectable, but their situation in life has not been specified. He received his early education in his native city, and after completing the ordinary course of study, he was employed in teaching the Greek language in the university. In this employment he continued for twelve months, and having then felt the usual desire of visiting foreign countries, he embarked for France, and arrived at Bordeaux in the year 1600.

Here he immediately recommended himself to the favour and friendship of two protestant clergymen, by his agreeable manners, his frank and ingenious disposition, his very promising talents, and his uncommon skill in the Greek and Latin languages. It is stated by Cappel that he spoke Greek with as much fluency and elegance as any other person could speak Latin ; and that this rare proficiency excited the admiration of Casaubon, with whom he soon afterwards became intimately acquainted. One of the pastors of the church of Bordeaux was his own countryman Gilbert Primrose, who was himself a man of learning, and the author of several works.¹ Through the recommendation of these clergymen, he was appointed a regent in the

¹ Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning, and of Religious and Learned Men, p. 299. Lond. 1656, fol.

newly-founded College of Bergerac, where it was his province to teach the classical languages ; but from this station he was speedily withdrawn by the Duc de Bouillon, who appointed him a professor of philosophy in the university of Sedan. In this new department he acquired new reputation ; and the duke next made him an offer of the Greek chair, which however he thought it decent to decline, as he could not accept it without depriving a friend of his office.

In the personal history of Cameron we find some indications of a restless disposition. Having continued two years at Sedan, he resigned his professorship, and, after visiting Paris, returned to Bordeaux, where he again experienced a very kind reception. In the beginning of the year 1604, he was nominated one of the students of divinity who were maintained at the expense of the church, in order to be prepared for its ministry when their services should be required, and who for the period of four years were at liberty to prosecute their studies in any protestant seminary. During this term of his exhibition, he acted as tutor to the two sons of Calignon, chancellor of Navarre ; and one of them is mentioned as having made great progress in Greek literature. They spent one year at Paris, and the next two at Geneva, from whence they removed to Heidelberg, and remained there nearly twelve months. In this university, on the fourth of April 1608, he gave a public proof of his ability by maintaining a series of theses, "*De triplici Dei cum Homine Foedere*," which have been printed among his works. During the same year, he was recalled to Bordeaux, where the death of his friend Renaud had left a vacancy in the protestant church ; and he was now appointed the colleague of Primrose, with whom he lived on the most cordial terms.

Their situation was not entirely free from inquietude. The parliament of Bordeaux was conspicuous for its animosity against those who adhered to the reformed religion ;

and in the year 1616 the two ministers were subjected to a very frivolous prosecution, which however was attended with no serious consequences. In the course of the following year, this impotent malice was testified in a more singular manner. Two captains, who professed the reformed faith, were accused of piracy; and a motion having been made that their case should be remitted to the *Chambre Mipartie*, the parliament, treating them as guilty before they were brought to trial, refused the application, on the pretext that the privileges of the edict of Nantes did not extend to corsairs. These individuals, innocent or guilty, were condemned to suffer an ignominious death, and they conducted themselves with so much firmness, and with such proofs of Christian resignation, that Cameron, who assisted them in their last preparations for another life, was induced to print a letter entitled "*Constance, Foy, et Résolution à la mort des Capitaines Blanquet et Gaillard.*" This commendation of persons whom the parliament had condemned to extreme punishment, was treated as an oblique censure of its proceedings; and his account of the faith and contrition of two dying sinners, was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner.¹

The high reputation which he acquired by his talents and learning, opened to him a new scene of professional exertion: when Gomarus was removed to Leyden, Cameron was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Saumur, the principal seminary of the French protestants. He commenced his lectures on the thirteenth of June 1618, but he was not installed till after an interval of two months. He had experienced some opposition from the synod of Poitou, under the pretext of his having adopted the opinion of Piscator as to the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ; but in the national synod held at Alez in the

¹ Benoist, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. ii. p. 190-5. Bayle, tom. i. p. 744.

year 1620, this charge was adjudged to be groundless. The church of Bordeaux having opposed his removal, appealed to the same synod ; and " this assembly acknowledging that the said church of Bourdeaux hath an undoubted right to the ministry of Monsieur Cameron, yet notwithstanding, because of the pressing and urgent necessities of the said university of Saumur, which is of mighty concernment to all our churches in general, it doth now order and decree that Monsieur Cameron shall continue in the said professorship until the next national synod, and the church of Bourdeaux is intreated to allow and approve thereof." During the interval, the university was to use its utmost endeavours to procure the services of another professor of divinity.¹ Here he was associated with Dr Duncan, another of his learned countrymen, who were then so numerous in France. Cameron had already published several of his works, and his celebrity was in no small degree increased by his academical lectures. Such indeed was his reputation in the chair, that he was frequently honoured with the attendance of Du Plessis-Mornay ; a man distinguished by his rank, his talents, and his zeal in the cause of religion.

During the same year, 1620, he was engaged in a formal disputation with Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who had adopted the theological opinions of Arminius.² He had expressed a wish to discuss with Cameron the doctrines of grace and free-will ; the time and place of meeting were duly arranged, and, according to their agreement, the professor repaired, in the neighbourhood of Orleans, to the country-house of Jerome Groslot, a protestant gentleman of rank and learning, who had taken refuge in Scotland after the massacre of St Bartholomew, and had there been distinguished by the friendship of Buchanan.

¹ Quick's Synodicon, vol. ii. p. 29, 58.

² See Dr Maccrie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 444.

Tilenus having arrived five days after Cameron, their conference commenced on the twenty-fourth, and concluded on the twenty-eighth of April. An account of this *Amica Collatio* was printed at Leyden in 1621. The theological faculty of that university was not satisfied with some of Cameron's explanations; and when Rivet, as dean of the faculty, communicated to him their dissent, he defended his opinions in a brief answer. Their orthodoxy was likewise defended by Bochart,¹ then a student of divinity, but who afterwards rose to the highest eminence among the learned men of the seventeenth century.

In 1620, the progress of the civil troubles in France had nearly dispersed all the students of the university of Saumur, and Cameron sought in England a place of refuge for himself and his family. For a short time he read private lectures on divinity in London; and in 1622 the king appointed him principal of the university of Glasgow, in the room of Robert Boyd, a learned man who had been removed from his office in consequence of his firm adherence to the cause of presbytery.² His successor appears to have been more favourably inclined to episcopacy; nor is it improbable that this circumstance may have had a strong tendency to diminish the cordiality of his reception in his native city. The following passage in Baillie's epistle dedicatory to Robert Blair, reflects some light on his sentiments respecting the controversies which then agitated the church. "I confesse, after you, to my exceeding great grieffe and losse, were taken away from my head, and I came to be set at the feet of other masters, especially Mr Cameron and Mr Struthers, my very singular friends, and excellent divines as our nation has bred, I was gained by them to some parts of conformity, which, if the Lords mercy had not prevented, might have led me, as many my

¹ Cameronis Opera, p. 710.

² Middleton's Appendix, p. 22. Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. 296.

betters, to have run on in all the errors and defections of these bad times: but thanks to his glorious name, who held me by the hand, and stopped me at the beginning and first entry of that unlucky course; who before I had put my hand to any subscription, or was engaged in any promise, or had practised any the least ceremony in my flock, did call me to a retreat."¹

Here he likewise taught divinity with great reputation, but he resigned his office in less than twelve months. Verneuil, a Frenchman, who soon after the author's death translated one of his tracts into English, has given the subsequent account of his return to Scotland. "During his naturall life, his reputation was great in France, and so great, that all the Iesuites there did seeke, and at last obtained to haue him banished, nor was there any other cause thereof then his great learning, the Iesuites in their conferences being not able to withstand him. *Quoniam aemulari non licet, nunc inuides*. He had his refuge here, where by the speciall care of that great fauourer of learning K. James (of blessed memory) he was provided for in Scotland, his native country, but so great was his hartly loue to France, that by the effectual mediation of those honourable ambassadors then in France, he gat that envious sentence reversed, which being done he immediately conueighed himselfe to Montauban, to bee professour there, where he ended his dayes, to the great losse of Gods church, and that vniversity." Calderwood has however assigned another reason for his quitting Glasgow: "Cameron was so misliked by the people, that he was forced to quite his place soon afterwards."² His opinions as to the power and prerogatives of kings,³ were not calculated to recommend him to the sturdy presbyterians of the west.

¹ Baillie's *Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland*. Lond. 1646, 4to.

² Calderwood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 800.

³ See his letter to King James, *Opera*, p. 713. This letter,

On returning to France, he fixed his residence at Saumur, where he was only permitted to read private lectures. In the year 1623 the province of Anjou made an application to the national synod of Charenton, requesting that he might be reinstated in his professorship; but in a letter addressed to the commissioner to this synod, the king declared it to be his will and pleasure that neither Cameron nor Primrose should be admitted to any public office or employment in the churches or universities within his dominions. The latter had excited the deep animosity of the Jesuits. Arnoux, a member of this fraternity, preaching before the king and queen in 1619, had the audacity to assert, that the catholic church had never inculcated the lawfulness of rebellion, under any circumstances; that it pronounces an anathema against those who teach that it is lawful for any subject to lay violent hands on his king; and that the society of Jesuits condemns, detests, and, as much as in it lies, anathematizes those who counsel or aid a subject, in any treasonable attempt against his sovereign. Primrose, who heard this sermon, could not suppress his indignation; and he requested another auditor, of whom he had no personal knowledge, to propose certain questions to Arnoux, respecting the assassination of Henry the Third, and the consequences which might result from a papal excommunication of the king who then filled the throne. These suggestions of the protestant minister were actually communicated to the preacher, who did not neglect the usual arts of Jesuitical revenge. It was one of his expedients to procure from the parliament of Bordeaux an *arrêt*, sufficiently comprehensive in its terms, that no stranger should be permitted to dogmatize in France.¹

written from Scotland in 1622, may likewise be found in the Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club, vol. i. p. 115.

¹ Panegyrique à très-grand et très-puissant Prince, Charles Prince de Galles, &c. par Gilbert Primerose, Pasteur de d'Eglise Française de Londres, p. 75. Lond. 1624, 8vo.

Primrose was finally compelled to quit the French dominions ; and having been chosen pastor of the French church in London, he there spent the remainder of his life.

Cameron represented to the same synod, that although he might have obtained very advantageous appointments out of the kingdom, he had yet declined to accept of any, on account of his affection and obligation to the churches of France ; and that in consequence of the king's excluding him from all ministerial or academical offices, he was then without employment, and destitute of any adequate means for the support of his family. The synod voted him a donation of a thousand livres.¹ The king's displeasure seems at length to have been mitigated ; for Cameron was permitted to accept the professorship of divinity in the university of Montauban, whither he removed before the close of the year 1624. The country was still torn by civil and religious dissensions ; and as Cameron maintained the doctrine of passive obedience, he excited the indignation of the more strenuous adherents of his own party. Nor was the expression of this indignation confined to mere reproaches ; one individual treated him with such outrageous violence, that his life was exposed to jeopardy.² Indisposed in body, and afflicted in mind, he sought for relief by a change of scene, and withdrew to the neighbouring town of Moissac : but what he thus sought was not to be found ; he speedily returned to Montauban, and there in the space of a few days terminated his earthly career. He died in the year 1625, when he had only attained the age of about forty-six, and left a widow and several children to bewail his loss. His first wife, Susan Bernard of Tonneins on the Garonne, he had married in 1611, and by her

¹ Quick's Synodicon, vol. ii. p. 101, 103, 117.

² "Voilà," says Bayle, "ce que Cameron gagna à prêcher l'esprit de modération dans une ville que les émissaires du Duc de Rohan animoient à la prise d'armes. Qui auroit cru qu'un Ecossois se feroit battre pour l'obéissance passive ?"

had a son and four daughters ; but the son and the eldest daughter died before their father. The son was born at London on the 10th of May 1622, and died at Saumur in the month of July 1624. His mother had died of consumption in the preceding March ; and after the decent interval of a year, Cameron married at Montauban a second wife named Susan Thomas, with whom he only lived a few months, and who had no child. The maintenance of his surviving family was undertaken by the protestant churches of France, in which he left an illustrious name.

With respect to his person, he was of the middle size, somewhat inclining to a spare habit, sound but not robust in his constitution. His hair was yellow, his eyes were brilliant, and the expression of his countenance was lively and pleasant. He appeared to be always immersed in deep meditation, and was somewhat negligent in his apparel, and careless in his gait ; but in his manners he was very agreeable, and although he was not without a considerable share of irritability, his anger was easily appeased, and he was very ready to acknowledge his own faults. One writer, of doubtful authority, has represented him as a person of consummate vanity, as a tedious preacher, and an endless talker : but this account is evidently to be received with a considerable degree of caution ;¹ and his distinguished pupil Cappel has exhibited his character in a most favourable light. According to his impression, he was a man of eminent integrity and piety, open, candid, and incapable of guile ; faithful to his friends, and not spiteful to his enemies ; of so liberal a turn of mind, that his generosity made some approach to profusion.²

¹ See Bayle's *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 743.

² Cappel, in his *Icon Joh. Cameronis*, has drawn this interesting picture. " Corpore fuit neque humili neque procero, sed mediocri, gracili et macilento magis quam obeso, neque valido aut robusto, sed tamen sano ; vultu aperto et renidente, facie ingenua, oculis vividis et amoenis, capillo flavo, incessu, habitu et cultu corporis, quia totus

Cameron died before he had reached what may be considered as the prime of a literary life, and too many of his years had been spent at a distance from that tranquillity which is so essential to the pursuits of literature. He was fond of study, but not of writing, and yet he wrote with great facility; he required to be incited by his friends, or roused by his adversaries. The most considerable of his works he did not himself commit to the press; they were published by the friendly care of others, from such copies as had been taken by his pupils. He composed many Latin poems which have not been preserved, and, in the opinion of Cappel, they possessed uncommon merit. An ample collection of his theological works has however been transmitted to our times, and he occupies a conspicuous place among the learned writers of the seventeenth century.

Sir Thomas Urquhart has extolled Cameron in his usual style. "There was another Scottish man, named Cameron, who within these few yeers was so renowned for learning over all the provinces of France, that, besides his being esteemed for the faculties of the minde the ablest man of

pene semper erat cogitabundus et meditabundus, paulo neglectiore. Moribus erat suavissimis, non morosus et austerus, sed neque remissus et effusus, verum ad gravitatem et lenitatem simul compositus, ὀξύχολος quidem et facile, praesertim in notos et familiares, irritabilis, sed qui facile etiam iram deponeret, atque ultro culpam et errorem agnosceret. Vir pietate et probitate spectabilis, integerrimus, candidus, apertus, fuci, fraudis, dolique mali plane nescius, a φιλαργυρία et μικρολογία alienissimus, imo vero pecuniae mirus et pro fortunae suae conditione nimius contemptor, et in erogando supra modum facilis, ne profusum dicam. Amicis fidus, inimicis non iniquus fuit. Gloriam et fortunae aemulos habuit, quibus tamen minime infensus fuit, imo nullus fuit cui bene non cupiverit, et bene facere pro data occasione paratus non fuerit. Doctrinae suae non minus quam τῶν χρημάτων καὶ βιωτικῶν κοινωνικὸς et liberalis largitor, volentes a se discere nil celabat, quin facile quicquid singulare aut reconditum habuit, iis communicabat."

all that country, he was commonly designed (because of his universal reading) by the title of *the walking Library*; by which he being no less known then by his own name, he therefore took occasion to set forth an excellent book in Latine, and that in folio, intituled *Bibliotheca movens*, which afterwards was translated into the English language."¹ This book, we strongly suspect, must be placed on the same shelf with some others which appear to have belonged exclusively to the knight of Cromarty's library. Cameron, according to the opinion of Dempster, wanted nothing to make him a great man but the profession of the catholic faith ;² and he has been extolled by various other authors, of higher authority in matters of theology. Milton, in his *Tetrachordon*, mentions Cameron as "a late writer, much applauded, an ingenious writer, and in high esteem." Bishop Hall regarded him as the most learned writer that Scotland had produced. His *Myrothecium Evangelicum* has received no slight commendation from an author who cannot be suspected of partiality to his sect. In this work, says Simon, he discovers an intimate acquaintance with the principles of criticism, and an exact knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. These qualifications have enabled him to exhibit a learned elucidation of the literal and grammatical sense of many passages in the sacred books which he professes to illustrate.³ In the opinion of Dr Smith, who is second to no English theologian of our own age, his annotations "are peculiarly valuable, and they often anticipate the remarks of later and more celebrated writers." He therefore considers him as well entitled to be classed among the most learned, judicious, and moderate interpreters.⁴

¹ Urquhart's *Jewel*, p. 182.

² Dempsteri *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum*, p. 173.

³ Simon, *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, p. 781.

⁴ Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. ii. p. 349, 373.

Soon after the death of Cameron, his friends published "Joh. Cameronis, S. Theologiae in Academia Salmuriensi nuper Professoris, Praelectiones in selectiora quaedam N. T. Loca, Salmurii habitae." Salmurii, 1626-8, 3 tom. 4to.¹ The editor was his learned pupil Louis Cappel, professor of Hebrew, and afterwards of divinity, in the university of Saumur. A collection of his theological works appeared under the title of "Joannis Cameronis, Scoto-Britanni, Theologi eximii, τὰ σωζόμενα, sive Opera partim ab auctore ipso edita, partim post ejus obitum vulgata, partim nusquam hactenus publicata, vel e Gallico idiomate nunc primum in Latinam linguam translata: in unum collecta, et variis indicibus instructa." Genevae, 1642, fol. Prefixed is an interesting sketch of the author's life and character, written by Cappel, and bearing the title of "Joh. Cameronis Icon." The writer of the preface to the volume was Frederic Spanheim, at that time professor of divinity in the academy of Geneva.² The author of the anonymous "Epistola docti Viri ad Amicum," refuted by Cameron, was Episcopus, a learned follower of Arminius. Cappel had published another work of his preceptor, which is not included in this collection. "Myrothecium Evangelicum, in quo aliquot Loca Novi Testamenti explicantur: una cum Spicilegio Ludovici Cappelli de eodem argumento, cumque 2 Diatribis in Matth. xv. 5. de Voto Jephthae." Genevae, 1632, 4to. Another edition appeared under the subsequent title: "Myrothecium Evangelicum; hoc est, Novi Testamenti Loca quamplurima ab eo, post aliorum labores, apte et commode vel illustrata, vel explicata, vel vindicata. Quibus adjectae sunt Alexandri Mori Notae

¹ In 1626 the national synod of Castres "exhorteth the province of Anjou to get the last tome of Mr Cameron's theological works printed, and promiseth that the next national synod shall take care to see them reimbursed the charges they must of necessity be at in that impression." (Quick's Synodicon, vol. ii. p. 216.)

² Colomiés, Bibliothèque Choisie, p. 73.

in *Novum Foedus*, jam antea editae, et *Dissertatio in Mat. c. 24. v. 28.* hactenus inedita: nec-non ejusdem A. Mori *Axiomata Theologica*, quae nunc primum in lucem produnt. Editio novissima, locorum indicibus locupletata." Salmurii, 1677, 4to.

Two of Cameron's French tracts were at an early period translated into English. "An Examination of those plausible Appearances which seeme most to commend the Romish Church, and to preiudice the Reformed: discovering them to be but meere shifts, purposely invented to hinder an exact triall of doctrine by the Scriptures. By Mr Iohn Cameron. Englished out of French." Oxford, 1626, 4to. "A Tract of the soveraigne Ivdge of Controversies in matters of Religion. By Iohn Cameron, Minister of the Word of God, and Divinity Professour in the Academie of Montauban. Translated into English by Iohn Vernevil, M. A." Oxford, 1628, 4to. The translator of the first tract subscribes his dedication with the initials W. P. Verneuil's dedication is dated "from the publique Library in Oxford."

From this distinguished person a very considerable party among the French protestants derived the name of Cameronites. They endeavoured to explain the doctrine of grace and free-will so as to establish the conclusion, that no one is absolutely excluded from a participation in the benefits of Christ's sufferings, though all are not enabled to embrace the offered salvation. Their opinions on this subject they attempted to reconcile with those of Calvin. The synod of Dordrecht, we are told, had defined that God not only illuminates the understanding, but gives motion to the will, by making an internal change; whereas Cameron only admitted the illumination by which the mind is morally moved, and explained the sentiment of the synod so as to make the two opinions consistent. Mosheim however declares himself unable to distinguish between Arminianism and the opinions of the French divines.¹ Those who held

¹ Mosheimii *Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, p. 967.

such opinions were likewise denominated Universalists. They were sometimes described as Amyraldists, from the name of Amyraut, who had been Cameron's pupil at Saumur, and was afterwards a professor of divinity in that university. No pupil was ever more full of veneration for his master. He is even said to have imitated a particular movement of his head, and to have imitated the tones of his voice so completely, that when he made a speech to Louis the Thirteenth, the king supposed his accent to be that of a foreigner.¹ The opinions of these divines were brought under discussion by some of the national synods, but the party had so materially increased its numbers and influence, that no censure was pronounced. Their opinions were zealously attacked by many theologians, and among the rest, by Du Moulin, Rivet, Des Marets, and Spanheim, while they were defended by Blondel, Daillé, and other men of the greatest eminence among the protestants of France.

¹ John Dunbar has celebrated Cameron for the purity with which he spoke the French language. (Epigrammata, p. 188.)

Gallica Calliope vix te, Camerone, notaret.

THOMAS DEMPSTER.

THOMAS DEMPSTER, one of the most learned men whom Scotland has produced, was born at Cliftbog in Aberdeenshire, on the 23d of August 1579, being the twenty-fourth out of twenty-nine children by the same mother. His father, who bore the same name with himself, he describes as proprietor of Muresk, Auchterless, and Killesmont, and *prorex*, or lieutenant, of the county of Banff and the district of Buchan. His mother was Jane, the sister of Lesley of Balquhain; and one grandmother was daughter to the last earl of Buchan, of the family of Stewart, and the other¹ was sister to Lord Forbes. He was born during the lifetime of his grandfather; at whose decease, the family, more distinguished by its gentility than its opulence, was left in very unprosperous circumstances.

According to his own account, his first step in learning was as wonderful as any part of his subsequent progress; for, at the age of three years, he completely mastered the alphabet in the space of a single hour. He was afterwards committed to the care of Andrew Ogston, a schoolmaster at Turreff, and was next removed to Aberdeen, where he was initiated in classical learning by Thomas Cargill, an excellent grammarian, who became rector of the grammar school in 1580, and was succeeded by David Wedderburn

¹ *Laurus Leslaeana explicata*, § 61. Graecii, 1692, fol.

in 1602.¹ In the mean time, the family was involved in ruin, chiefly by the misconduct of James, his eldest brother ; of whom he has given an account which it would have been much wiser to suppress. This brother took the extraordinary step of marrying his father's concubine, Isabella Gordon of Achavach ; and having consequently been disinherited, he attempted to revenge himself by collecting a band of Gordons, and making a violent assault upon his father when he was one morning proceeding on horseback, with the view of transacting some public business. Several attendants of the latter were slain in this encounter, and, among others, his brother-in-law Gilbert Lesley ; he was himself dangerously wounded. Two of the Gordons were likewise left dead on the field, and several were wounded on both sides.²

In order to cut off all hope of succession from such an heir, he sold to the earl of Errol his estate of Muresk, situate in the county of Aberdeen ; but the bargain was never fulfilled by the other party, and he was unable to recover either his lands or their price. Thus, we are told, he only left to his son Thomas an empty title. But Thomas, who represents himself as the twenty-fourth child, does not venture to assert that, if the estate had still remained in the family, he was next in the order of succession ; and when in various works he styled himself baron of Muresk, he must have been aware, even taking baron in the sense

¹ Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 125. Dempster mentions Cargill as "vir literatissimus," and as the best grammarian in that part of the kingdom. (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 173, 673.) "Patre amisso," says Meursius in his biographical notice of Jack, "mater vidua Thomae Cargillo erudiendum tradidit, admirando juventutis instruendae artificio." (*Athenae Batavae*, p. 294.)

² Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 673. In the dedication of his *Antiquitates Romanae* to King James, he alludes to the same atrocious attempt. Here his father is described as "Banfiae et Buchaniae praefectus atque irenarcha."

of *laird*, that his title was as empty as could well be imagined. After this act of atrocious violence, his brother James fled to the northern islands, and having there collected a band of ruffians, he lived in open defiance of the laws, till he at length set fire to the bishop of Orkney's palace, and then returned to the country which he had been compelled to abandon. His wife, who had become the mother of seven children, was now discarded ; and having made choice of another companion, he sought an asylum in the Netherlands, where he served as a captain of horse. But the divine vengeance at last overtook him ; for having been guilty of some gross act of violence towards his colonel, he was executed at Utrecht in the most appalling manner ; he was torn limb from limb by four horses, and thus, according to his brother's account, ended a career of more than common crime and infamy.

In the progress of these events, Thomas, by the advice of his uncle John Dempster, whom he describes an eminent lawyer of Edinburgh, was induced to seek in another country that fortune from which he seemed to be precluded in his own. In the tenth year of his age, he repaired to Cambridge, where he for some time studied in Pembroke Hall. He afterwards directed his course to France ; and having on his journey been robbed of his money and stript of his clothes, he with difficulty made his way to Paris. Here he was kindly treated by some of his countrymen, and was beginning to think of resuming his studies, when he was seized with a contagious disease, which deprived the schools of their auditors, and the city of its inhabitants. When he at length recovered from this dangerous malady, he hastened to the university of Louvain, which was then adorned by the erudition of Lipsius ; but not long after his arrival he found that William Crichton, a Jesuit, principal of the Scottish College, had received instructions to send some of his young countrymen to Rome ; and those whom he selected, besides Dempster

himself, were Patrick Anderson, who was already a Jesuit, Robert Hill, who died professor of philosophy at Montpellier, and Thomas Lyon, who was blind from his infancy.

He reached the papal city after a dangerous journey, for the plague was raging in Germany, and Italy was the scene of military operations. By the kindness of Cardinal Cajetano, protector of the Scottish nation, he was admitted as a student in the Roman seminary, and, under the tuition of Stephoni, began the study of poetry, that is, the art of Latin versification: but having again been attacked by a dangerous disease, the physicians recommended a change of climate; and, in company with Andrew Chrichton, proceeding by way of Switzerland, he directed his wandering steps towards the Netherlands. At Tournay he experienced the kindness of his countryman James Cheyne, who sent him to the university of Douay, where he was maintained by a pension from the king of Spain and the archduke Albert.

He now prosecuted the study of poetry with new vigour, but did not neglect the other branches of learning. In poetry he obtained the first, and in philosophy the second prize. Having taken the degree of A. M. he for a short time taught humanity at Tournay; but as his prospects were not there very encouraging, he again presented himself at Paris, and having taken the degree of doctor of the canon law, he succeeded David Sinclair as a regent in the College of Navarre. At that period, according to his own statement, he had not attained the age of seventeen; and he must therefore have obtained his preferment in the year 1596. In what university he afterwards took the degree of doctor of the civil law, he has omitted to mention; but in several of his works he describes himself as *Juris utriusque Doctor*, or doctor of both laws, civil and canon.

From the beginning to the end of his career he was a restless wanderer, and he soon quitted Paris with the intention of settling at Toulouse. On his route, he halted

for some time at St Maixant in Poitou. At Toulouse he began to teach humanity; but his zeal in contending for the interests of the university excited the resentment of certain individuals of rank or influence, and he again thought it expedient to change his abode. His views were next directed to a professorship of philosophy at Montpellier, whither he appears to have been invited by his countrymen Adam Abernethy and Andrew Currie, the former of whom is still remembered as an author; but, in the mean time, he made his appearance at Nismes, where the professorship of eloquence was to be awarded to the most deserving competitor, and where only one of twenty-four judges decided against him. At this period, the French protestants had five universities or academies, those of Saumur, Montauban, Sedan, Montpellier and Nismes, which had all been erected under the authority of a general synod held at Rochelle; but in the year 1617 those of Montpellier and Nismes, being both within the province of Lower Languedoc, were incorporated into one university, established in the latter city.¹ Bayle is naturally led to conjecture that he must now have suspended his zeal for the Romish faith.² One of the unsuccessful candidates, Jacob Grasser of Basel, sought to avenge himself by making a violent assault upon Dempster, by publishing a libel against him, and by applying for a legal interdict to prohibit him from discharging the duties of his office; but the professor, who possessed courage as well as strength, repelled the joint attack of Grasser and some of his associates, and found means to have him committed to prison, first at Nismes, and afterwards, when he had made his escape, at Montpellier, and again at Paris. After a tedious litigation of two years, the cause was at length decided in his favour by the parliament of Toulouse, and the libel

¹ Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 330, 513.

² Bayle, Dictionaire Historique et Critique, tom ii. p. 986.

published against him was ordered to be burnt at Nismes by the hands of the executioner.

Nor did he long retain his professorship of eloquence. After making a journey into Spain, he accepted the appointment of preceptor to Artus d'Espinay, subsequently bishop of Marseille, a son of the famous Sainte Luc, grand-master of the artillery of France, who was killed at the siege of Amiens in the year 1597. But a quarrel in which he involved himself at Brissac with one of his pupil's relations, hastened the termination of this engagement, and he now adopted the resolution of returning to his native country. With the view of recovering some portion of the family property, he brought an action in the court of session, and, according to his own impression, would ultimately have succeeded, if he had not found it expedient to withdraw before the decision was pronounced. His relations were either reduced to poverty, or were unwilling to assist him, on account of his adherence to the popish faith; and for the same reason he was exposed to persecution from the Scottish clergy, chiefly, as he conceives, at the instigation of William Cowper, afterwards bishop of Galloway. With this divine he was for three days engaged in a theological disputation at Perth, and he appears to have been extremely well satisfied with the manner in which he acquitted himself. To the resentment of Cowper in being foiled, not by a theologian, but by a lawyer, he imputes the injurious representations which were made to the king.¹ He again bad adieu to Scotland, and, returning to Paris, was for seven years employed, with honour as well as emolument, as a regent in four different colleges, those of Lisieux, Grassins, Du Plessis, and Beauvais.²

¹ Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 195, 677.

² André du Saussay, bishop of Tulle, in his continuation of Belarmin, has mentioned Dempster in the following terms: "Docuit magno discipulorum concursu, nec minori omnium doctorum aesti-

Of the decision and ferocity of his character he exhibited a notable instance in the last of these colleges. Grangier, the principal, having occasion to absent himself from Paris, appointed Dempster to act as his substitute, being no doubt persuaded that he had sufficient energy to maintain the most rigid discipline. A student challenged one of his companions to fight a duel: the vice-principal was moved with indignation at such a proceeding; and having seized the offender and untrussed his points, he placed him on the back of a sturdy knave, and, in the presence of the whole college, gave him a sound flogging. The young gentleman, burning with resentment, brought one day to the college three of his kinsmen who served in the guards: but Dempster, undismayed at this military invasion, put arms into the hands of the servants, and having ordered them to kill the horses which were left at the gate, made so formidable an attack on the soldiers, that they were speedily reduced to the necessity of begging for mercy. Their lives were spared by the victor, who however detained them for a short time as prisoners in the college belfry. When they had thus ascertained that he was a match for them at their own weapons, they endeavoured to find a more competent remedy; and as he was not persuaded that a legal enquiry into his proceedings would tend to his advantage, he quitted his station in the College of Beauvais, and sailed for England.¹

matione et plausu: inter ejus auditores in mea juventute constiti. Caeterum tantus vir pugnaci animo et contentioso ac instabili fuit, quo genio ductus plerumque domicilia mutavit." (*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, p. 82. edit. Colon. 1684, 4to.)

¹ *Erythraei Pinacotheca Imaginum illustrium Doctrinae vel Ingenii Laude Virorum*, tom. i. p. 24. Colon. Agrip. 1645-8, 3 tom. 8vo. This account seems to receive some confirmation from Dempster's more brief statement: "A Joanne Robillardo Normano Cadomensis periculum vitae adiit, qui frequenti stationario milite comitante sub noctem irrumpens, armis cum suis exutus ac in cus-

According to one of his Irish antagonists, the cause of his flight was of a much more foul description ;¹ but the work which contains this statement displays such a fierce spirit of detraction, as must deprive it of all historical credit. He had been invited to England by King James, who bestowed upon him the title of historiographer royal, and made him a present of two hundred pounds, which at that period was no inconsiderable sum. This gift he received on the 19th of February 1615-6.² At London he married Susanna Waller, a woman of great beauty and elegance, who afterwards proved a very precarious acquisition. His hopes of obtaining preferment were defeated by the remonstrances of the clergy, particularly Dr Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells ; they endeavoured to impress the king with a sense of the impropriety of thus taking under his protection, and into his favour, a known and zealous catholic. He therefore took his leave of the learned monarch, and again directed his course towards Italy.

When he arrived at Rome, he was suspected of being a spy, and for a single night was detained in custody ; but his character and pretensions were easily ascertained, and from the pope and several cardinals he obtained letters of recommendation to the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosmo the Second. Being likewise befriended by Guicciardini, the duke's ambassador at the court of Rome, he proceeded to Florence, and in the year 1616 was appointed professor of the Pandects in the university of Pisa.³ He had previous-

todiam datus, iter conceptum Thomae acceleravit." (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 677.)

¹ *Hiberniae, sive Antiquioris Scotiae, Vindiciae*, p. 52-8. Antverpiae, 1621, 8vo.

² *Issues of the Exchequer, being Payments made out of his Majesty's Revenue during the Reign of James I.* p. 180. Lond. 1836, 8vo.

³ *Fabronii Historia Academiae Pisanae*, tom. ii. p. 234. Pisis, 1791-5, 3 tom. 4to.

ly distinguished himself by the publication of various works in prose and verse, and had earned the reputation of extensive erudition. At an early period of his life he had betaken himself to the study of the law; and by his edition of the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Rosinus, printed in the year 1613, he had evinced his proficiency as a civilian. The study of the Roman law is so closely blended with the study of Roman history and antiquities, that the one cannot be safely disjoined from the other.

Soon after he had been admitted to this office, he was furnished with letters and money by the grand duke, and returned to England for the purpose of conveying his wife to Italy. They proceeded by way of Paris; and when they were one day walking in the street, his lady attracted a crowd of gazers, not merely by the beauty of her person, but chiefly by exhibiting a more ample portion of her bosom and shoulders than suited the established usages of the country. So great was the concourse of people, that they were obliged to fly for shelter to an adjoining house.¹ In due time he returned to Pisa, and read his inaugural lecture on the second of November. His salary was augmented to four hundred ducats, and he now appeared to have a fair prospect of honour and emolument. He recommended himself to the duke by undertaking his great work "*De Etruria Regali*," which he must have completed with wonderful energy and despatch. In the year 1617 he paid another visit to Britain, with the view of arranging some private affairs. But his restless and turbulent disposition did not long permit him to enjoy tranquillity. He involved himself in an angry and pertinacious dispute with an Englishman, whose name he has not thought proper to mention, nor is the origin or progress of this dispute rendered in any degree intelligible by his abrupt narrative. It however appears that his antagonist, who was probably

¹ *Erythraei Pinaeotheca*, tom. i. p. 25.

an ecclesiastic, succeeded in producing a favourable impression on the grand duke, who only left Dempster the alternative of making an apology, or quitting the Tuscan dominions. The learned civilian was of too stubborn a nature to be readily convinced that he was in the wrong, and too proud to stoop to what he considered as an unworthy compliance: he accordingly accepted the latter part of this alternative, and took his departure from Pisa on the 21st of July 1619.

Disgusted with Italy, he now reverted to the plan of settling in his native country; but on arriving at Bologna, he paid his respects to Cardinal Capponi, legate of that papal city, who prevailed upon him to abandon his intention, and within the short space of twelve days procured him the appointment of professor of humanity. This was an honourable and a lucrative office, which had been held by men of high reputation, by P. Manutius, Sigonius, and Robortellus. A new office naturally involved such a person in new contentions: the professor of humanity was entitled to take precedence of other professors; and as this place of honour was fiercely contested, he maintained his own rights with his usual pertinacity, and with more than his usual success.

More serious evils awaited him. The Englishman who had interrupted his tranquillity at Pisa, still infested him at Bologna: he accused the professor of being a catholic of dubious faith, and of being guilty of the crime of having heretical books in his library. Dempster addressed to his adversary a letter, which appears to have been so intemperate as to incur the censure of some of the cardinals; but he proceeded to Rome in person, and after obtaining more than one audience of the pope, was enabled to remove any aspersions which had been aimed at his character. A formal reconciliation was at length effected between these pertinacious antagonists, but the spirit of reconciliation was probably wanting in both parties. The

professor mentions that he had prepared a full statement of his case, and that if his adversary recurred to his former practices, it should be transmitted to posterity. In the mean time, he discharged his duty in the university with diligence and ability. His reputation attracted pupils of a higher rank, and his salary was augmented to eight hundred crowns. His love of wandering seems at length to have abated ; for he declined an offer of a thousand crowns a-year as professor of the civil law in the university of Padua. Pope Urban the Eighth, who was himself a Latin poet,¹ treated him with more than usual distinction, by conferring upon him the honour of knighthood, and accompanying this honour with an annual pension of one hundred pieces of money, but of what denomination, is not sufficiently apparent. Dempster likewise became a member of the Accademia della Notte, in which, according to the Italian fashion, he assumed the name of Evancio, and in the proceedings of which he is said to have taken a great interest.

He now appeared to have reached a place of rest, when he was overtaken by the severest of all his calamities. After his arrival in Italy, his wife had born a daughter, who did not survive many days, and this was fortunately the only offspring of such a mother. On returning from one of his lectures, he discovered that she had made an elopement, in which one or more of his own pupils were either concerned as principals or accessories. He immediately commenced a pursuit of the fugitives, who seem to have added robbery to their other crime ; but when he had proceeded as far as Vicenza, a city of Lombardy, he found that they must already have passed the Alps. This pain-

¹ Maphaei S. R. E. Card. Barberini, nunc Urbani Papae VIII. Poemata. Parisiis, e Typographia Regia, 1642, fol. Of the poetical works of his holiness there are various editions, but this is the most splendid. It includes a collection of his *Poesie Toscane*.

ful journey had been performed during the heat of the dog-days. Oppressed with fatigue of body and anguish of mind, he sought repose and tranquillity at Butri, in the neighbourhood of Bologna ; but having been suddenly attacked with a fever, he was removed to his own residence, and there died on the 6th of September 1625, soon after he had completed the forty-sixth year of his age. His remains were interred in the church of St Dominic, where his brethren of the *Accademia della Notte* erected a monumental stone to his memory, and added a Latin inscription written in a very quaint style. One of their number, Ovidio Montalbani, pronounced his funeral oration, which was published in the course of the following year.¹

Such was the turbulent life, and such the premature death, of Thomas Dempster, a man distinguished by some eminent endowments of body as well as mind. In his person, he was above the ordinary size, and was possessed of proportional strength. He had an ample head, with black hair, and a dark complexion, so that in Italy he might easily have been mistaken for an Italian. He was a man of a noble aspect, and was possessed of undaunted courage. The irritability of his temperament involved him in many quarrels, nor was his sword less formidable than his pen. He never acquired the habit of restraining the natural impetuosity of his mind, and was equally decided and undisguised in his friendships and in his resentments. To his friends he was very pleasant, and equally odious to his enemies. Little inclined to forgive injuries, he pursued his enemies with the most violent animosity, and express-

¹ *Ragionamento Funebre havuto publicamente nell' Accademia della Notte, per la Morte dell' eccellentissimo Tomaso Demstero. Bologna, 1626.* This publication, which I have never seen, is mentioned by Bayle, and likewise by Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes illustres dans la Republique des Lettres*, tom. xxviii. p. 314.

ed his tumultuous feelings without any scrupulous regard to decency.¹ In several of his works, we find sufficient evidence of his being somewhat loose in his assertions; and indeed men of a violent and perverse disposition seem frequently to be incapable of distinguishing falsehood from truth; they are much inclined to embrace as true whatever is best suited to the state of their mind during its morbid excitement.

Dempster's intellectual endowments were likewise of a mixed character. He was blessed with such extraordinary powers of memory, and read with such indefatigable diligence, that he was regarded as a speaking library. It was customary with him to devote fourteen hours a-day to study. He was allowed to possess an equal knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; and his knowledge of both was so familiar, that in either language he undertook to dictate verses as rapidly as the pen of a ready writer could commit them to paper. He was a poet and philologist, as well as a civilian and historian. He evinces no mean portion of poetical fancy, and his verse is more elegant than his prose. His *Musca* is one of the few Latin poems, written by natives of Scotland, which the learned Wasse has recommended for republication.² In his more elaborate works, he displays very extensive and diversified

¹ "Moribus ferox fuit, apertus omnino, et simulandi nescitus, sive enim amore, sive odio aliquem prosequeretur, utrumque palam; consuetudine jucundissimus, amicis obsequentissimus, ita inimicis maxime infensus, acceptaeque injuriae tenax, eam aperte agnoscens ac repetens." These are the expressions of Matthaeus Peregrinus, who has completed the account of Dempster which occurs at the end of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

² Wasse's Memorial concerning the Desiderata of Learning: *Bibliotheca Literaria*, No. iii. p. 11. See likewise Borrichii *Dissertationes Academicæ de Poetis*, p. 151. A selection from Dempster's poems may be found in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 306.

erudition, but in many instances his learning appears superior to his judgment. The life which he led was subject to many vicissitudes, and his writings partake of the same desultory character. His style is unequal, and frequently unpolished, nor is he sufficiently scrupulous in selecting words of the purer ages of Latinity.

His principal work, "*De Etruria Regali*," was completed in the space of about three years; and when we consider its great extent, and its ample stores of recondite knowledge, we cannot but regard it as a wonderful performance. Errors and defects may naturally be expected to occur in a work relating to such a subject, and executed with so much rapidity; but sufficient room is still left for our admiration of the author's vivacity of mind, and resources of learning. His edition of Rosinus¹ likewise displays the copiousness of his reading, and it has supplied materials to all those who have subsequently laboured in the department of Roman antiquities. His juridical works entitle him to a respectable place among civilians. Ludewig, who is himself an able writer, has expressed a wish that his notes on the *Institutions of Justinian* should be reprinted.² As a classical critic, his character is chiefly to be ascertained from his editions of Claudian and Corippus, two poets who belong to the declining ages of Roman literature, and one of them indeed belongs to the latter part of the sixth century.³ The editor might easily have selected purer models of language and taste; but on various occasions he chose to travel in a by-path of his own, and his annotations on Corippus, as well as on Claudian, have con-

¹ Of Rosinus, whose personal history is little known, a brief account may be found in Hankius *de Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus*, p. 205.

² J. P. de Ludewig *Vita Justiniani*, p. 45.

³ *Leyseri Historia Poetarum Medii Aevi*, p. 172. *Halsæ Magdeb.* 1721, 8vo.

tributed to his reputation as a man of miscellaneous erudition. Among his own works he enumerates notes on Statius and a commentary on Aelian, but there seems no reason to believe that they were ever printed.

On the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, some of his publications are very slight and unsatisfactory. His *Menologium* and *Scotia Illustrior* are so much occupied with fierce contentions "*de lana caprina*," that they can now excite little interest or curiosity. His *Nomenclatura* is a mere catalogue of names, which were to be illustrated in a subsequent work. In his native country, he is most generally known as the author of a book on which he has bestowed the title of "*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*," a title which is by no means descriptive of its contents. It contains a long enumeration of Scottish saints, writers, and other worthies, who lived, or are supposed to have lived, at periods very remote from each other. Of many of his saints and writers, the very existence is considered as more than doubtful, and many of the rest belong, not to Scotland, but to other countries. It is not always easy to distinguish the early Scottish from the early Irish writers. The name of *Scotia* or *Scotland* has not been traced in any author who flourished before the third century.¹ At first it was exclusively applied to the country now called Ireland; but after the descendants of the Irish had established themselves in the north of Britain, they still retained the appellation of Scots; although it was not before the eleventh century that the name of Scotland was transferred from the one country to the other.² After that period, the green island gradually lost its ancient designation. Some degree of confusion may therefore be supposed to be connected with this identity

¹ *Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, p. 728. Dublinii, 1639, 4to.

² *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 228.
VOL. I. R

of names, nor has it always been avoided by writers more accurate than Dempster. His notices of persons who lived in earlier times are necessarily very scanty, and are often very erroneous. Nor are his catalogues of books less remarkable than his list of writers: he ascribes various works to various individuals who flourished long before the art of writing was introduced into Scotland; and nothing can be more ludicrous than his formal enumeration of the productions of such imaginary authors. The principal value of his book consists in its notices of those writers who belonged to his own time, and particularly of those who passed the better part of their lives on the continent. Relative to these, he presents us with many curious gleanings of information, which is nowhere else to be found; and on many occasions his information is more authentic than his readers may be inclined to suppose. According to Bishop Lloyd, he "was as well inclined to believe a lye as any man in his time;"¹ and to Dr Towers he "seems to have thought it highly meritorious to advance the grossest falsehoods, if those falsehoods would, in any degree, contribute to the honour of his country."² A person convicted of many errors is naturally suspected of many more. Thus, when Dempster speaks of Kidd, or Cadanus, as being an eminent professor of law in the university of Toulouse, and the author of several works in prose and verse, he has perhaps by some readers been suspected of introducing an imaginary character; and yet the same individual, utterly forgotten in his native country, is mentioned by Baluze as a professor of great ability and reputation. On the continent there were many Latin poems and tracts published by natives of Scotland, du-

¹ Lloyd's Historical Account of Church-Government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion, p. 153, sec. edit. Lond. 1684, 8vo.

² Biographia Britannica, vol. v. p. 94.

ring the age of Dempster, and a short period immediately preceding; and such of them as were written by individuals who did not acquire any considerable celebrity, have in various instances left but few traces behind them.

The works of Dempster are very numerous and very miscellaneous. I subjoin a list, which is as complete as I have been able to render it; but he has himself enumerated various others, which do not appear to have been published. All the articles from No. 29 to No. 47 inclusively, are copied from his own list; and it is to be regretted that he has not described them in a more satisfactory manner.

1. *Cl. Claudiani quae extant, cum notis Thomae Dempsteri Scoti. Flexiae, 1607, 16to.*

2. *In Claudianum Commentarius lib. i. Lugduni, et alibi.*—This commentary I have never seen, and it escaped the researches of the younger Burman.¹

3. *Epithalamion in Nuptiis generosissimorum Jacobi Comitis Perthani, Domini Drommondi, Baronis Stobhalliae, &c. et Isabellae, unicae Roberti Comitis Wintonii, Domini Setonii, &c. filiae. Edinburgi, 1608, 4to.*

4. *In desideratissimum Rectoratum clariss. viri D. D. Jacobi Vassorii, SS. Theologiae Baccalaurei primae Licentiae, Noviodunensis Ecclesiae Episcopalis Archidiaconi meritiissimi, &c. Panegyris extemporanea. Parisiis, 1609, 4to.*

5. *Eucharisticon, dictum post Telemachum cl. v. D. D. Petri Valentis in Aula Montana Cal. Septemb. Paris. 1609, 8vo.*

6. *Corippi Africani Grammatici de Laudibus Justini Minoris Augusti libri quatuor: Thomas Dempsterus a Muresk, J. C. recensuit, lacunas supplevit, mendis expurgavit, commentarium adjecit, quo historia et antiquarii ritus elucidantur, variique scriptores explicantur, restituntur; item loca variorum reduxit, qui Corippum citarunt,*

¹ P. Burmanni Secundi praef. in Claudianum, p. xi.

illustrarunt: cum indice pene omnium dictionum. His accessit pro corollario, Constantini Manassis Gr. Carmen politicum in Justinum Minorem Imp. quod nunc primum prodit, cum versione metrica Fed. Morelli Interpr. Reg. Paris. 1610, 8vo.

7. Musca; sive Strena Kal. Jan. ad illustrem nobilissimumque virum D. Petrum Huraldum Hospitalium Fayum, Dominum de Bel-ebate, Magni Consilii Senatorem Regium, &c Ejusdem Muscae Partes, ab excellentissimis ingeniiis. Paris. 1610, 4to.—There are other two editions.

8. Epinicion; seu Victrix Academia. Natalium splendore, nec minus eruditionis gloria insigni viro ac domino, D. Richardo de Pichon, causarum in summo Senatu Galliarum patrono eloquentissimo. Paris. 1612, 4to.

9. Tragoedia Decemviratus Abrogatus. Ad illustriss. D. Jacobum Augustum Thuanum, &c. Paris. 1613, 8vo.

10. Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus absolutissimum, in quo praeter ea quae Joannes Rosinus delineaverat, infinita suppleuntur, mutantur, adduntur; ex criticis et omnibus utriusque linguae auctoribus collectum, poetis, oratoribus, historicis, jurisconsultis, qui laudati, explicati, correctique; Thoma Dempstero a Muresk, J. C. Scoto, auctore. Ad potentissimum augustissimumque Principem Jacobum I. Monarcham Magnae Britanniae, &c. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1613, fol.—Of this work there are many subsequent editions. One of these was published by Pitiscus, and another, which bears the following title, by J. F. Reitz: "Johannis Rosini Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus absolutissimum, cum notis doctissimis ac locupletissimis Thomae Dempsteri." Amst. 1743, 4to. The edition is correct and elegant. Under the title of "Thomae Dempsteri Kalendarium Romanum," an extract from this work is inserted in Graevius's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, tom. viii. c. 115.

11. Panegyricus augustiss. potentiss. q. Principi Jacobo I. Britanniar. Franciae, et Hiberniae Regi, &c. Domino suo

clementiss. dictus a Thoma Dempstero a Muresk, J. C. Historico Regio. Londini, 1615, 4to.

12. Strena Kal. Januar. ad Jacobum Hayum, Dominum ac Baronem de Saley. Lond. 1616, 4to.

13. Votum illustriss. generosiss. q. D. Roberto Caro, Periscelidis Equiti, Regi ab Arcanis Consiliis, Regiae Domus Majori, Somerseti Comiti, &c. 4to.—This publication consists of two leaves, without a title-page, and seems to have been printed in London.

14. Licitatio Professorum ; sive Praefatio solemniss habita Pisis postridie Kal. Novembris M.DC.XVI. Ad illustrissimum reverendissimumque virum D. Franciscum Boncianum, Archiepiscopum Pisanum, &c. Pisis, 1616, 4to.

15. Troia Hetrusca ; sive Gamelia Ludicra, sereniss. Federico Urbinatum Principi decursa, sereniss. Cosmo II. Magno Hetruviae Duce edente. Ad sereniss. Franc. Mariam Urbinatum Ducem. Florentiae, 1616, 4to.

16. Bandum Mediceum ; sive Strena Kl. Jan. MDCXVII. de Stemmate, Pila, Hercule, Leone. Sereniss. Princip. Cosm. II. Magn. Hetruviae Duc. Florent. 1617, 4to.

17. Bononia ; sive Praefatio Solemnis, habita ix. Cal. Novembris. Bononiae, 1619, 4to.

18. Scotorum Scriptorum Nomenclatura, &c. Bonon. 1619, 4to.

19. Scotia Illustrior ; seu, Mendicabula repressa, modesta Parecbasi : qua libelli famosi impudentia detegitur, mendacia ridicula confutantur, Scotiae Sancti sui vindicantur, ac bona fide asseruntur. Lugduni, 1620, 8vo.—The title-page is without a date, but the dedication is dated at Rome on the fourth of October 1620. This work is chiefly directed against a publication bearing the title of "Brigida Thaumaturga ; sive Dissertatio partim encomiastica in laudem ipsius Sanctae," &c. Paris. 1620, 8vo. The anonymous author has subjoined a tract entitled "De Scriptorum Scotorum Nomenclatura a Thoma Dempstero edita Praecidaneum." This Irishman and his country

Dempster treated with the utmost scorn and contempt: and in the following work he was answered in a similar strain: "*Hiberniae, sive Antiquioris Scotiae, Vindiciae adversus immodestam Parecbasim Thomae Dempsteri, moderni Scoti, nuper editam: in quibus currente calamo innumerae ipsius Dempsteri imposturae et mendacia deteguntur, atque ipse levi penicillo depingitur, ut intelligat qui quae vult dicit, quae non vult audit. His accessit Nomenclatura Scotorum et Scotiae, &c. Authore G. F. Veridico Hiberno.*" Antverpiae, 1621, 8vo. Sir Thomas Pope Blount has stated that in 1623 both Dempster's work and this answer were prohibited by the church. In 1621 his edition of Rosinus was prohibited till it should be corrected.¹

20. *Asserti Scotiae Cives sui, S. Bonifacius Rationibus ix. Joannes Duns Rationibus xii. Excerptum e libris de Scripturibus Scotiae.* Bonon. 1621, 4to.

21. *Ulyssis Aldrovandi Quadrupedum omnium Bisulcorum Historia: Joannes Cornelius Uterverius Belga colligere incoepit, Thomas Dempsterus, Baro a Muresk Scotus, J. C. perfecte absolvit, Hieronymus Tamburinus in lucem edidit.* Bonon. 1621, fol. Bonon. 1642, fol.

22. *Menologium Scotorum; in quo nullus nisi Scotus gente aut conversatione: quod ex omnium gentium monumentis, pio studio Dei Gloriam, Sanctorum Honori, Patriae Ornamento, colligit, publicat, et inscribit illustriss. Principi, Moecaenati suo, D. Maphaeo S. R. E. Card. Barberino, Scotorum Protectori. Opus ecclesiasticae hierarchiae ac monasticae vitae dignitati augendae, haeresi in Scotia vigenti confundendae, operose utile.* Bonon. 1622, 4to.

23. *Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam lib. ii. Acceserunt Martyrologium Scoticum Sanctorum DCLXXIX. Scriptorum Scotorum MDCIII. Nomenclatura. Opus e*

¹ Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum Authorum*, p. 643. Lond. 1690, fol.

peregrinis omnium gentium historiis collectum, omnia orbis regna pio studio lustrantur, religiosæ S. R. E. familie nobilitantur, historia patria augetur, sectarii admonentur, catholica veritas contra hostes Dei et Scotiæ firmatur. *Justi et parati operis prænuntia.* Bonon. 1622, 4to.—The first book treats “De Religione,” and the second “De Regno.” The work was intended as a prelude to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

24. *Κεραυνὸς καὶ Ὁκέλος* in Glossas lib. iv. *Instit. Justiniani*: ubi ad amussim criticam Glossæ, *Leges ipsæ*, *Autores Latini et Græci* examinantur, corriguntur. Ad illustriss. Comitum Octavium Ruinium, Patricium Bononiensem. Bonon. 1622, 8vo.

25. *De Juramento* lib. iii. *Locus ex Antiq. Rom. retractatus.* Satisfactum Famæ ill^{mi}. b. m. Cardinalis Bellarmini, qui falso insimulabatur, theologice, juridice, historice, antiquarie, ex utriusque linguae, omnium gentium, omnis ætatis monumentis. Illustriss. Principi, Jo. Garisii S. R. E. Card. Millino. S. D. N. Vicario Generali, Mecaenati suo. Bonon. 1623, 8vo.

26. *Benedicti Accolti de Bello a Christianis contra Barbaros gesto, pro Christi Sepulchro et Judæa recuperandis, libri iiiii.* Thomas Dempsterus, J. C. Baro a Muresk Scotus, cum aliis scriptoribus collatos, et mendis expurgavit, et notis non vulgaribus illustravit. Florentiæ, 1623, 4to. Nunc denuo ad exemplar Florentinum CIOIOCCXXIII. ab innumeris et foedissimis mendis expurgatum, emaculatus recudendos curavit Henricus Hofsnider, cum indice satis luculento. Groningæ, 1731, 8vo.

27. *Lessus; sive Laudatio Funebris* ilustriss. D. Julio Caesari Signio, Episcopo Reatino, dicta ad Divi Joannis in Monte: *Extemporale Thomæ Dempsteri, J. C. Scoti, Baronis a Muresk, Profess. Eminentis.* Bonon. 1623, 4to.

28. *Votum Divæ Virgini Sanlucianæ.* Bonon. 1623, 8vo.

29. *Tragoedia Stilico* lib. i. *Sammaxentii.*—His own

list likewise contains the following titles "Tragicomoedia Maximilianus lib. i." "Tragoedia Maximilianus lib. i. Duaci acta, scripta a puero." As he does not mention any place of printing, we may suppose these dramas to have been unpublished.

30. Epithalamium Marchionis Brandeburgici lib. i. Francofurti.

31. Epithalamium Vicecomitis Hadintonii lib. i. Londini.

32. Panegyricus Clementi VIII. Pontifici lib. i. Romae.

33. Panegyricus Paulo V. Pontifici lib. i. Romae.

34. Expostulatio cum Musis et Senatu Aremorico, dum custodiam suae innocentiae ultro subivit. Nemausi.

35. Divinatio ad Regem lib. i. Londini.

36. Eucharisticon Alberto Archiduci lib. i. Duaci et Lovanii.

37. Actio Scholastia de S. Catharina lib. i. Lutetiae.

38. Poemata de S. Thoma Aquinate lib. i. Tolosae.

39. Acrosticha de Europae Principibus lib. i. Duaci.

40. In Elizabetham Angliae Reginam lib. i. Duaci.

41. Lachrymae ad Timoleonem d'Espinay Sanlucium, in Funere Uxoris, lib. i. Parisiis et Lugduni.

42. Judicium de omnibus omnium Gentium et Temporum Historicis lib. i. Parisiis.

43. Notae in Sphaeram lib. i. Francofurti.

44. Politicae Parecbases, nuncupatae Alexandro Razi-villo, Principi Polono, auditori suo, lib. i. Parisiis.

45. Genethliacon Delphini Franciae, nunc Regis Ludovici XIII. lib. i. Flexiae.

46. De Inundatione Anglicana lib. i. Flexiae.

47. Votum Scipioni Burghesio, S. R. E. Cardinali, lib. i. Romae.

48. Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum lib. xix. qua viri sanctitate, literis, dignitatibus, toto orbe illustres, et familiae Scoticae, in varias urbes transmissae, et praecipue Placentiam, recensentur. Illustrissimo viro Fabio Scoto

Plac°. Miceni Com. dicata. Bononiae, 1627, 4to.—This posthumous work is printed in the most negligent manner, insomuch that very many passages are scarcely intelligible. It has recently been reprinted for the use of the Bannatyne Club: "Thomae Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum: sive, de Scriptoribus Scotis. Editio altera." Edinb. 1829, 2 tom. 4to. This edition was superintended by the writer of these pages, who, in a preface of considerable length, has given an account of the author and his singular performance. He has endeavoured to amend a great variety of passages, by referring to writers whom Dempster quotes, by altering the vicious punctuation, by attending to the ordinary rules of grammar, and sometimes, where the sense seemed perfectly clear, by substituting one letter for another. Of the more material changes, he has given a detailed statement in the preface.

49. *Cerasum et Sylvestre Prunum; opus poematum, de Virtutum et Vitiorum Pugna; sive Electio Status in Adolescentia: authore primo nobili Domino Alexandro Montgomerio Scoto, poeta regio, idiomatis materni laureato: nunc rursus auctum, et in Latinos versus translatum, per T. D. S. P. M. B. P. P. in gratiam illustris et generosi herois D. Alexandri Brussii, Capitanei Cohortis Peditum Scotorum, Domini de Kinkawil. Arctauni Francorum, 1631, 8vo. Edinburgi, 1696, 8vo.*

50. *De Etruria Regali libri vii. nunc primum editi, curante Thoma Coke, Magnae Britanniae Armigero. Florentiae, 1723-4, 2 tom. fol.*—The title-page of the first volume bears an inscription "Regiae celsitudini Cosmi III. Magni Ducis Etruriae;" that of the second, "Regiae celsitudini Jo. Gastonis, Magni Ducis Etruriae;" and Dr Towers has erroneously supposed that the work was published at their expense. It was published at the expense of the editor, Sir Thomas Coke, afterwards earl of Leicester, whose library contained the original manuscript, nor is the book unworthy of so magnificent an editor. It is elegantly print-

ed, and is illustrated with engravings. A supplement to this work was published by Giambattista Passeri under the subsequent title: "In Thomae Dempsteri libros de Etruria Regali Paralipomena, quibus Tabulae eidem operi additae illustrantur. Accedunt Dissertationes de Re Nummaria Etruscorum, de Nominibus Etruscorum, et Notae in Tabulas Eugubinas." Lucae, 1767, fol.

JOHN BARCLAY.

THE father of John Barclay, as has already been stated, was a native of Scotland, but his mother was a Frenchwoman, and he was himself born in France: he has however been generally classed among Scottish writers. He was the only son of William Barclay and of Anne de Malleville, and was born at Pontamousson in Lorraine, on the 28th of January 1582. He was educated in the College of the Jesuits, and made so rapid a progress in his studies,¹ that at the age of nineteen he published annotations on the *Thebias* of Statius.²

In 1603, when his father resigned his professorship, this young and aspiring scholar accompanied him to England. He dedicated to King James the first part of "*Euphormionis Lusini Satyricon*," printed at London

¹ In a letter addressed to Lipsius in the month of April 1597, W. Barclay speaks thus of his son, who was then in his sixteenth year: "Mitto et hoc amoris erga te mei pignus certissimum, missurus aliquando, si Deus voluerit, multo charissimum; meum nempe gnatum unicum, ut in tam tenello ætatis flexu, Græcis et Latinis probe instructum. Vix dum excessit ex ephebis, et philosophiam serio meditatur, atque velut impetu quodam in id fertur, meque importune urget, ut te docentem audiat: audiet, ut spero, speque fruatur sua." (*Burmanni Sylloge Epistolarum*, tom. ii. p. 26.)

² *Notæ in Statii Thebaidem*. Mussiponti, 1601, 8vo. (*Niceron, Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xvii. p. 290.)

during the same year. Both the father and the son were willing to accept of employment, and they both expected preferment; but in this they were both disappointed, and, before the close of the year, they returned to France. At the beginning of 1604 his "*Kalendae Januariae*" were sent as a poetical offering to the king. His hopes of advancement began to revive, and he returned to England in 1605; but after a further residence of twelve months, he still found himself unsuccessful in his pursuit.¹

His father died towards the close of the same year; and he afterwards removed to Paris, where he married Louise, the daughter of Michael Debonnaire, "*Trésorier des Vieilles Bandes*." He speedily fixed his abode in London, and there his wife bore him a son and two daughters, William, Anne, and Louise. M. de Peiresc, who was himself a man of learning, and was very extensively connected with the learned, found him in this metropolis in the year 1606, and their acquaintance was succeeded by an intimate friendship. In 1605, he published at Paris the second part of his *Satyricon*, which he dedicated to the earl of Salisbury; and at Amsterdam a brief narrative of the gunpowder plot, bearing the title of "*Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii, in ter maximum Regem Regnumque Britanniae cogitati et instructi*." In 1610 he published at London an apology for his *Satyricon*, which had excited so much resentment that he found it necessary to attempt some palliatives and explanations. A tract was published at Paris in 1620, under the title of "*Censura Euphormionis*;"² and

¹ "*Hodie*," said Scaliger in July 1606, "*regi est carissimus, et prandenti ac coenanti semper ad mensam sistere se solet*." (*Epistolae*, p. 810.) Three letters from Barclay occur among the *Epistres Françaises des Personnages illustres et doctes à Mons^r*. Joseph Juste de la Scala, p. 15, 198, 361. These are all dated at London.

² "*On croit, pour le marquer icy en passant, que Séton, Ecossois, est l'auteur de ce petit livre*." (*Menage*, p. 233.) The writer ap-

this was answered in a "Censura Censurae Euphormionis," written by Pierre Musnier, canon of Vezelay.

In the year 1609 he published an able work of his father, "De Potestate Papae," to which he prefixed a preface of nine pages, concluding with a clear intimation of his purpose to defend his father's memory against any unseemly attack. "Quod si aliquis hoc opus refellere instituet, velim ne oratoria fraude tantum levia quaedam carpat, in quibus nec ipse author multum subsidii posuerit; sed ipsam vim rationum excutiat, diluendi aut asserendi vitia accuset. Si quis aliter faxit, sciat Guilielmi Barclaii cineres loqui posse." The work, which is written with learning and ability, excited no small degree of attention; and it was soon attacked by Cardinal Bellarmin, one of the most formidable defenders of the doctrines of the church, and of the pretensions of its visible head.¹ The son was anxious to evince that the ashes of his revered father were yet capable of speaking. He had not neglected to study the law under so excellent a preceptor; and as he was by no means diffident of his own abilities, he did not shrink from

parently alludes to Dr Seton, a learned civilian, whom Tomasini enumerates among the eminent scholars of the age. (*Parnassus Euganeus, sive de Scriptoribus ac Literatis hujus Aevi claris*, p. 8. Patavii, 1647, 4to.) Balzac celebrated him in his Latin verses; Scioppius addressed the second epistle of his *Paradoxa Literaria* "Guilhelmo Setonio Scoto Jurisconsulto;" and his name is mentioned with much respect by various other writers of the same period. He is highly extolled in Sir Thomas Urquhart's Jewel, p. 177. "Feliciter, mi Setoni," says Puteanus: "quae probitas, doctrina, elegantia tua est, ostendes omnibus te imprimis dignissimum fuisse quem amaret Lipsius, et famae commendaret. Nunc tu tibi elogium es: loqui non potes nisi et praestantissimas animi dotes indices. Te quoque quisquis audiet, amabit; quisquis videbit, mirabitur." (*Epistolarum Atticarum centuria nova*, epist. lvii.)

¹ *Tractatus de Potestate Summi Pontificis in Rebus Temporalibus, adversus Gulielmum Barclaium: auctore Roberto S. R. E. Card. Bellarmino, Romae, 1610, 8vo.*

a contest with so redoubtable an antagonist. He accordingly published a large volume bearing the title of "*Joannis Barclaii Pietas ; sive publicae pro Regibus ac Principibus, ac privatae pro Guilielmo Barclaio parente Vindiciae, adversus Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmini Tractatum de Potestate Summi Pontificis in Rebus Temporalibus.*" Parisii, 1612, 4to. To this work the cardinal did not himself reply, but an answer was speedily published under the name of his friend and associate Andreas Eudaemon-Johannes, a Jesuit from the island of Candia,¹ who bore a considerable share in the great English controversies respecting the oath of allegiance, and the conduct of the Jesuits.² In reference to the temporal power of the pope, many elaborate volumes were produced by both parties. Among these we may particularly notice the learned work of Robert Abbot, master of Balliol College, and regius professor of divinity at Oxford, subsequently bishop of Salisbury. His animadversions, which are sufficiently vehement and bitter, are directed against Suarez, as well as Bellarmine; nor does he overlook the cardinal's answer to the treatise of William Barclay.³ One English catholic,

¹ "Homo Graecus origine," says Casaubon, "domo Cretensis, professione rhetorculus. Graecis veteres multa vitia (ignoscat mihi natio alias, ut scis, amica, sed nulla suis peculiaribus vitiis gens caret) dixerunt esse propria; ingenium leve, vafrum, et versipelle, fidem etiam in testimoniis fluxam, aut potius nullam. Cretensibus mendacitatis palmam tribuerunt." (*Ad Frontem Ducaeum*, S. J. Theologum, Epistola, in qua de Apologia disseritur communi Jesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiae Parisiorum edita, p. 148. Lond. 1611, 4to.) Salmasius describes him as "*Cacodaemon Johannes Cretensis.*" (*Ad Justum Pacium Epistola*, p. 14.)

² *Andrae Eudaemon-Johannis Epistola monitoria ad Joannem Barclaium de Libro ab eo pro Patre suo contra Robertum Bellarminum*, S. R. E. Cardinalem scripto. Col. Agrip. 1613, 8vo.

³ *De Suprema Potestate Regia Exercitationes habitae in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarminum et Francisc. Suarez :*

Roger Widdrington, signalized himself by the decision and zeal with which, in various publications, he opposed the papal pretensions.

In 1614 Barclay published at London his "*Icon Animorum*," which forms the fourth part of his *Satyricon*. This work is written with talent and vivacity, and may still be perused with pleasure. It is, as Lord Hailes has correctly stated, a delineation of the genius and manners of the European nations, with remarks, moral and philosophical, on the various tempers of men. For the land of his forefathers the author has not failed to testify a sufficient degree of affection. He duly extols the antiquity of the royal line, "*inclyto sceptro supra fidem et aetatem regnorum caeterorum*." Nor is the literary character of the people left without its share of commendation. "*Animi illis in quaecunque studia inclinant, mirifico successu inclyti, ut nullis major patientia castrorum, vel audacia pugnae, et Musae nunquam delicatius habeant quam cum inciderunt in Scotos*."¹ Some of his sketches of the national character are happy and graphic.

After a residence of ten years in England, Barclay found himself without any sufficient inducement to prolong his stay. To some extent or other, he had experienced the bounty of the earl of Salisbury; and although it does not appear that he obtained any regular provision from the

auctore Rob. Abbot, ibidem tunc Professore Regio, nuper Sarisburiensi Episcopo." Lond. 1619, 4to.

¹ Joannis Barclaii *Icon Animorum*, p. 92. Lond. 1614, 8vo. "*Horum autem ex laboribus et inventis*," says Gabriel Naudé, "*prodiit tandem, velut aurum ex marchasita, et uniones ex matrice concha, Icon Animorum Joannis Barclaii. Cui ego auctori, non modo praestanti facundia, sed omni genere laudis, quae ex literarum studiis elegantioribus provenire solet, ne ex illis quidem veteribus Romanis quenquam antepono*." See his *Bibliographia Politica*, p. 281. subjoined to Degory Whear's *Relectiones Hyemales de Ratione et Methodo Legendi utrasque Historias, Civiles et Ecclesiasticas*. Cantab. 1684, 8vo.

king, we may perhaps suppose that he at least received occasional gratuities; but his resources continued to be scanty, and his situation precarious.¹ Towards the close of the year 1615 he proceeded to Paris, where he had the pleasure of meeting his friend M. de Peiresc and the honour of being introduced by him to the keeper of the seals, Guillaume du Vair. Having been invited to Rome by Pope Paul the Fifth, he there fixed his residence in the beginning of the ensuing year, and by the publication of his next work he endeavoured to prove himself a worthy denizen of this pious city. The work to which we allude is entitled "*Joannis Barclaii Paraenesis ad Sectarios, libri ii.*" Romae, 1617, 8vo. "It is probable," says Lord Hailes, "that by this exhortation to the sectaries, he meant to give evidence of his own orthodoxy, and to atone for the libertics, almost heretical, which he had taken, as well with the papal court, as with its most faithful adherents. But that court, which had Cardinal Bellarmine for its champion, required not the feeble and suspicious aid of the author of *Euphormion*. Although Barclay found much civility at Rome, yet it does not appear that he obtained any emolument. Incumbered with a wife and family, and having a spirit above his fortune, he was left at full leisure to pursue his literary studies. It was at that time that he composed his Latin Romance called *Argênis*. He employed his vacant hours in the cultivating of a flower-garden. Rossi (or Erythraeus) relates, in the turgid Italian style,

¹ "Venio ex Anglia," said Grotius in 1613; "*literarum ibi tenuis est merces. Theologi regnant; leguleii rem faciunt; unus ferme Casaubonus habet fortunam satis faventem, sed, ut ipse judicat, minus certam. Ne huic quidem locus in Anglia fuisset ut literatori; induere theologum debuit. Et satis feliciter Antibarionius ipsius procedit, rege applaudente; clero non item, nam multi vellent eum rigidius agere, quod ab ipsius candore et modestia impetrari non potest. Barclaius inter divitias et paupertatem haeret.*" (Grotii *Epistolae*, p. 751. a.)

that Barclay cared not for those bulbous roots which produce flowers of a sweet scent ; and that he cultivated such as produced flowers void of smell, but having variety of colours. Hence we may conclude that he was amongst the first of those who were infected with that strange disease, a passion for tulips, which soon after overspread Europe, and is still remembered under the name of the *Tulipo-mania*. Barclay had it to that excess, that he placed two mastiffs as centinels on his garden ; and, rather than abandon his favourite flowers, chose to continue his residence in an ill-aired and unwholesome habitation."¹ The preceding account of his success at Rome is not reconcilable with that of Rossi, who avers that from Cardinal Barberini he obtained riches as well as civility ;² but as these benefits are said to have been conferred after the cardinals elevation to the papal chair, the narrative is liable to some degree of suspicion. The election of Urban the Eighth did not take place till the year 1623, and Barclay was then beyond the reach of preferment. It is not however probable that a writer of high reputation, who had been invited by the pope, and was caressed by cardinals, was left without some substantial mark of favour.³ Bel-larmin, whom he had formerly undertaken to refute, was

¹ Hailes's Sketch of the Life of John Barclay, p. 5. 4to.

² "Qui deinde, ad Deo proximum, in terris, dignitatis locum evectus, Urbani VIII. nomine, non modicæ illi utilitati et commodo fuit ; nam et divitias et opes ac gratiam contulit, filiumque ejus majorem natu et pingui sacerdotio locupletavit, et honorarii intimi cubicularii titulo cohonestavit." (Erythraei Pinacotheca, tom. iii. p. 79.) See likewise Imperialis Musaeum Historicum, p. 170.

³ The following passage occurs in a letter of F. Sweertius, dated at Antwerp on the 25th of September 1616 : "Audio Barclaium Romæ agere, et singulis annis a pontifice Paulo V. mille aureos, ejusque filium 300 accipere." (Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 170. Lond. 1691, 4to.) Barclay's son must at that period have been a mere boy.

so far from cherishing any resentment, that he honoured him with various marks of kindness.

Barclay died at Rome on the twelfth of August 1621, in the fortieth year of his age. The disease which proved fatal to him was the stone; a disease for which, in his *Satyricon*, he had pronounced the plant called golden rod to be a specific remedy. His remains were interred in the church of S. Onufrio; and at the church of S. Lorenzo, on the road to Tivoli, his widow erected for him a monument, with his bust in marble; but on learning that Cardinal Francesco Barberini had there erected a similar monument in honour of his preceptor, she indignantly caused the bust to be removed. The inscription on Barclay's monument was soon erased; but by whom, or for what reason, is not very clearly ascertained. There is however no improbability in the reason assigned by Freher, who imputes this act to the vindictive feelings of the Jesuits, an order of men very frequently subjected to his satire.¹ At the time of his death, the romance of *Argenis* was printing under the superintendence of Peiresc,² and was soon afterwards given to the public. Paris. 1621, 8vo. Besides a son and two daughters born in England, Barclay had a son who was born at Rome. His elder son is represented by Rossi as having obtained a rich benefice from Urban the Eighth. With one of his sons Menage was acquainted at Paris in the year 1652; and, in his opinion "ce n'estoit pas un grand personnage." Like his father, he was a writer of Latin verses, and at this period he there printed an elegy. We are not aware that the descendants

¹ Freheri *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione clarorum*, tom. ii. p. 1515. "Inscriptionem ac statuum," says an earlier writer, "cautiore patres consilio sublatam ac deletam voluerunt." (*Imperialis Musaeum Historicum*, p. 171.)

² Gassendi *Vita Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc*, p. 176. Parisiis, 1641, 4to.

of Barclay are at present to be traced either in France or Italy.

This ingenious writer, who was thus arrested in the middle of his literary career, left an unpublished history of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Franks, and some fragments of a general history of Europe. Rossi informs us that he had himself transcribed a manuscript tract of his, relating to the defection of M. Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato ; and that from his knowledge of the national character, as well as of the disposition of the king, the author foretold that he could not long remain in England.

The ambition of Barclay was greater than his fortune ; nor did his propensity to satirize one class of individuals prevent him from offering abject flatteries to another. But at that period few men of letters knew how to blend self-respect with a proper deference to their superiors in the artificial scale of society. His personal character, with an ample allowance for his vanity as an author, appears to have been respectable. "Some very indecent descriptions in *Euphormion*," as Lord Hailes has remarked, "lead us to form an unfavourable conjecture as to the manners of Barclay. There is however no proof that he was a loose man ; and indeed it is probable that he wrote loosely, because Petronius, whom he had chosen for his model in satire, affected that style. Barclay entered into the married state at a very early period of life ; and he appears to have continued the fond husband of his *Aloysia*.... There is a presumption, at least, that he who was a good son and a good husband, was also a virtuous man in other respects ; and if there had been any remarkable blemish in the morals of Barclay, some of his numerous and virulent adversaries would have pointed it out." He appears to have been subjected to considerable annoyance in consequence of the jealousy of his wife ; but in many cases jealousy is a wayward passion, and proceeds from the mere excess of

affection, as well as from the knowledge or suspicion of specific and painful facts.

Barclay was evidently a man of genius, and with a vigorous imagination he united a competent share of learning. His literary efforts were sufficiently variegated; quitting the regions of poetry and romance, he ventured to discuss subjects of jurisprudence and theology. His Latin poems exhibit marks of fancy and ingenuity, nor is his skill as a versifier less conspicuous.¹ The *Satyricon* is formed on the model of Petronius, and includes occasional verses interspersed with the prose. The talent displayed in this work would alone have been sufficient to secure him a high reputation among the writers of the age; but the fame of all his other productions has in a great measure been eclipsed by that of his *Argenis*, which, after the lapse of two centuries, still finds readers and admirers. "*Argenis*," says Lord Hailes, "is generally supposed to be a history under feigned names, and not a romance. Barclay himself contributed to establish this opinion, by introducing some real characters into the work. But that was merely to compliment certain dignitaries of the church, whose good offices he courted, or whose power he dreaded. The key prefixed to *Argenis* has perpetuated the error. There are no doubt many incidents in it that allude to the state of France during the civil wars in the seventeenth century; but it requires a strong imagination indeed to discover Queen Elizabeth in Hyanisbe, or Henry III. of France in Meleander. On the whole, *Argenis* appears to be a poetical fable, replete with moral and political reflections." This is a sober and correct account of the

¹ Joannis Barclaii Poematum libri duo. Lond. 1615, 4to. Oxon. 1636, 12mo. His poems may likewise be found in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 76. "Sed quid Joanne Barclaiio Scoto, etiam in hoc genere Musarum, exactius, numerosius, et quandoque sublimius?" (*Borrichii Dissertationes Academicæ de Poetis*, p. 149.)

work; but Cowper has expressed his approbation in more glowing terms. "The work I mean is Barclay's *Argenis*; and, if ever you allow yourself to read for mere amusement, I can recommend it to you (provided you have not already perused it) as the most amusing romance that ever was written. It is the only one indeed of an old date that I ever had the patience to go through with. It is interesting in a high degree, richer in incident than can be imagined, full of surprizes, which the reader never forestalls, and yet free from all entanglement and confusion. The stile too appears to me to be such as would not dishonour Tacitus himself." In another letter he expressed himself thus: "I have also read Barclay's *Argenis*, a Latin romance, and the best romance that ever was written."¹ This romance was a special favourite with Cardinal de Richelieu, and also with Leibnitz, a much greater man than the cardinal.

Cowper appears to have been struck with the point and vivacity of his style, which indeed are sufficiently distinguishable; but for the purity of his Latin diction Barclay is not entitled to equal commendation. Being probably impelled by the rapid current of his fancy, he adopts a variety of words and idioms which well express his meaning, but which nevertheless do not belong to the best ages of Latinity. The distich of Grotius, engraved under Barclay's portrait, seems therefore to contain a compliment which must not be too literally interpreted:

Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus, hic est
Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui.

Joseph Scaliger, whose literary judgments were frequently severe, and not unfrequently capricious, mentions Bar-

¹ Hayley's *Life of Cowper*, vol. i. p. 243, 247, 4to. edit. The learned Ruddiman has equally extolled the author of "the incomparable and truly inimitable *Argenis*." (*Further Vindication of Ruddiman's Edition of Buchanan's Works*, p. 52.)

clay's *Satyricon* in terms of great disparagement; but whether his censure is chiefly directed against the Latinity, or against the general strain of the work, is not altogether certain.¹ This book, whatever may be its demerits, has passed through many editions, and has been translated into the French and German languages.² It has likewise had the advantage of being illustrated with notes. Lugd. Bat. 1674, 8vo.³ The fourth part, the "*Icon Animorum*," has repeatedly been printed in a separate form. One edition bears this inscription: "Joannis Barclaii *Icon Animorum*, celeberrimi viri Augusti Buchneri notis, adjecto rerum indice, illustrata." Dresdae, 1680, 8vo. The book soon appeared in an English dress: "*The Mirror of Minds, or Barclay's Icon Animorum*; Englished by Tho. May, Esq." Lond. 1633, 12mo. Of this translation there is another edition in the same form; but the only copy to which I have access contains a mutilated title, and I therefore cannot discover the date. Two French versions had appeared in the course of one year. "*Le Pourtrait des Esprits de Jean Barclai, mis en François*." Paris, 1625, 12mo. "*Le Tableau des Esprits de M. Jean Barclay; par lequel on cognoist les humeurs des Nations, leurs avantages et defaux, les incli-*

¹ "Quanti Euphormionem Barclaii faciam, ex eo cognoscere potes, quod vix sex folia ejus legere potuerim." (Jos. Scaligeri *Epistolae*, p. 637.) See Colomessi *Opuscula*, p. 157, and Menage's *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, p. 233.

² *Biographie Universelle*, tom. iii. p. 360. Ebert's *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon*, Band i. c. 137.

³ Chishull mentions a more recent scheme of illustrating this work: "Among the citizens of this rank and character, I contracted an acquaintance with Mr Wagner, who speaks good English, and has long been preparing a comment on the obscurities of Barclay's *Euphormio*, concerning which he has commissioned me to make several enquiries." (*Travels in Turkey, and back to England*, p. 141. Lond. 1747, fol.) They became acquainted at Leipzig in the year 1702.

nations des hommes, tant à cause de leurs propres naturels que des conditions de leurs charges. Nouvellement traduit de Latin en François." Paris, 1625, 8vo. The dedication of the duodecimo is subscribed Nantevil de Boham; and he has taken such liberties with the original, that his work can scarcely claim the name of a translation. There is a German translation of a very recent date: "Johann Barklai's Gemälde der menschlichen Charaktere nach Verschiedenheit der Alter, Zeiten, Länder, Individuen und Stände: aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, und mit Anmerkungen und geschichtlichen Nachweisungen begleitet, von Anton Weddige, Pastor zu Lippborg." Münster, 1821, 8vo. A continuation of the *Satyricon* had been published by Claude Morisot, under the title of "*Alitophili Veritatis Lachrymae*;" and Lord Hailes describes it as a master-piece of absurdity.

The editions and versions of the *Argenis* are much more numerous. An edition with notes appeared under the title of "*Joannis Barclaii Argenis, nunc primum illustrata*." Lugd. Bat. et Roter. 1664, 8vo. This was followed in 1669 by a uniform edition of the continuation: "*Archombrotus et Theopompus, sive Argenidis secunda et tertia pars, ubi de Institutione Principis*." The notes, which are not held in much estimation, were written by Bugnot, a Benedictine who taught rhetoric in the abbey of Tiron. Lord Hailes mentions a French translation published at Paris, 1622, 8vo; and another with the subsequent title now lies before me: "*L'Argenis de Jean Barclay: traduction nouvelle, enrichie de figures*." Paris, 1625, 8vo. There are other two French versions of a more recent date, one by the Abbé Josse, a canon of Chartres, 1732, 3 tom. 12mo; and another by M. Savin, Paris, 1776, 2 tom. 8vo. Barclay's romance soon appeared in Spanish; and a copy of this rare version belongs to the Astorga collection in the Advocates Library: "*Argenis, por Don Joseph Pelli- cer de Salas y Tobar*. A Don Antonio de Negro, Noble

de la Serenissima Republica de Genoua." Madrid, 1626, 4to. Don Joseph has somewhat unfairly excluded Barclay's name from the title-page. An English version was speedily published by Sir Robert Le Grys and Thomas May, Esq. Lond. 1628, 4to. And another was executed by Kingsmill Long, Esq. Lond. 1636, 4to. After a long interval appeared "The Phoenix, or, the History of Polyarchus and Argenis. By a Lady." London, 1772, 4 vols. 12mo. The preface of this publication states that "the editor has made use of both the former translations occasionally, and, whenever a doubt arose, had recourse to the original." Lord Hailes has judiciously enough suggested that "the lady would have done as well had she made use of the original, and only consulted the translations when any doubt arose." The Argenis was at an early period translated into German: "Joan. Barclai Argenis, verdeutschet durch Martin Opitzten." Amsterdam, 1644, 12mo. In this country, the version of Opitz is extremely rare; and the only copy that has fallen under his inspection belongs to the writer of the present notice. Another German translation was published by J. Ch. L. Haken. Berlin, 1794, 2 Bde. 8vo. An Italian version was executed by Francesco Pona; and this celebrated romance has even been translated into the Polish, Swedish, and Islandic languages. Among the northern manuscripts in the Advocates Library there is a *Saga af Argenide*, translated in the year 1694 by a schoolmaster named Einarson.¹

¹ This translator of Barclay was "Joh. Einari, scholae primum Skalholtinae hypodidasculus, deinde rector scholae Holensis designatus." (Halfdani Einari Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae, p. 66. Havniae, 1777, 8vo.) He appears to have been a writer of verse as well as prose.

